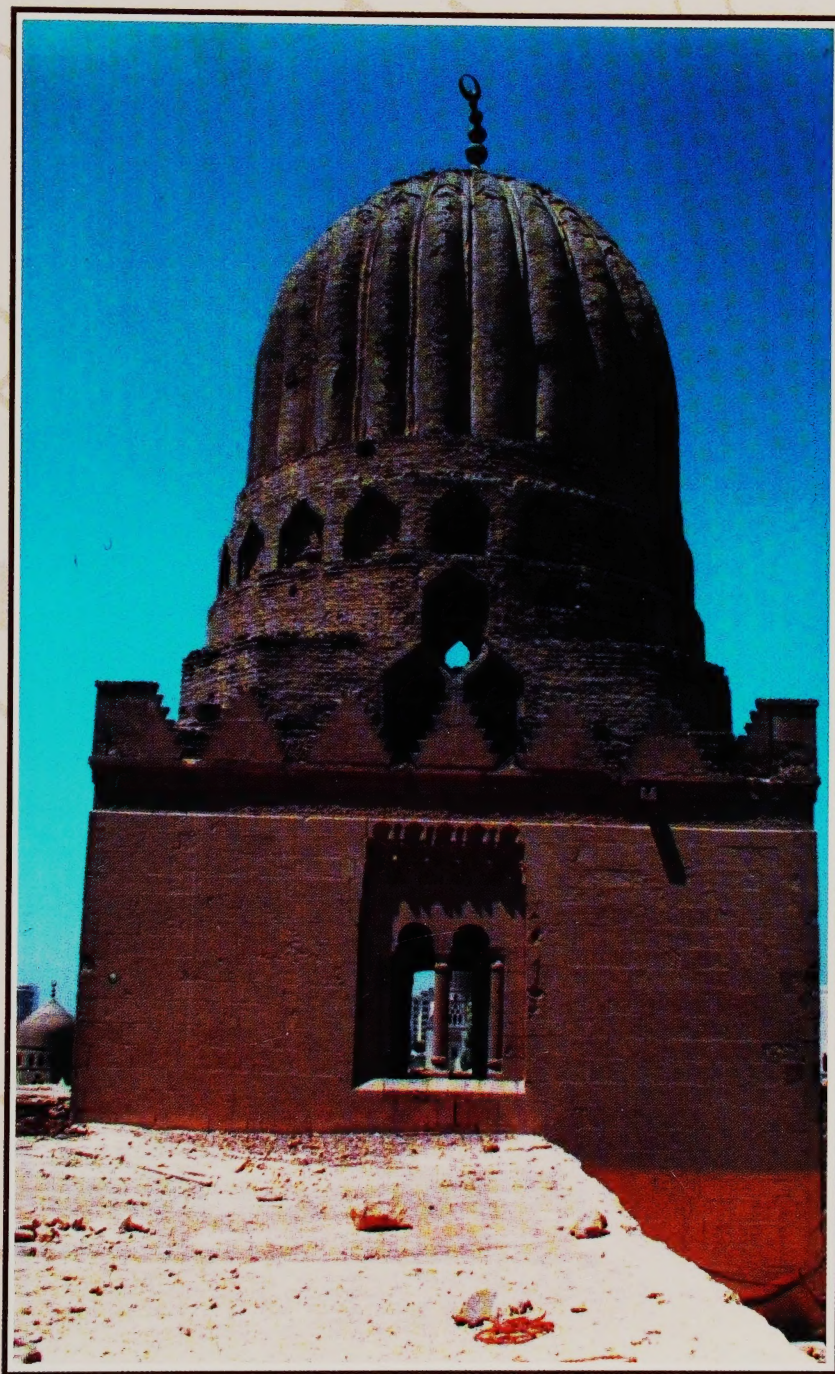


The Northern Cemetery of Cairo



Hani Hamza

The Northern Cemetery of Cairo deals with the beginnings, growth and decline of one of the most important cemeteries of Cairo, which is quintessentially a product of Mamluk patronage. The Northern Cemetery was a separate entity isolated on all sides; to the south the steep descent of Bab al-Wazir and the Citadel complex separated it from the Qarafa; to the west the Barqiyya mounds and the Cairo wall separated it from the city proper; to the east al-Gabal al-Ahmar fixed its physical limit; its northern boundaries, however, are not clearly defined.

The Mamluks, unlike the preceding dynasties ruling Egypt, failed to develop a new significant urban settlement in their domains. Instead they primarily extended and consolidated some of the existing cities. The establishment of the Northern Cemetery reflects a shift in the Mamluk's policy. This area was used for military training and as a parade ground, reflecting the military spirit of the formative years of the young state. Urbanization of the area started with the relaxation of the military spirit during the third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad and proceeded slowly during the ensuing period of internal struggle after his death.

The Burgi period witnessed royal patronage of the area for the first time starting with al-Nasir Farag. The economic, military and social decadence of the later Burgi sultanate did not prevent the steady growth and the artistic excellence that had characterized the period here, as it did elsewhere in Cairo. The reign of Qaitbay, considered by many as the last great Mamluk Sultan, was the final attempt of the dying dynasty at progress.

The main street of the Northern Cemetery, dotted on both sides with royal foundations, remotely resembles the Qasaba of Cairo, void of the latter's intensive activity. The area is perhaps the nearest attempt of the Mamluks to establish an urban settlement, dedicated not for the living but for the deceased.

The Northern Cemetery of Cairo

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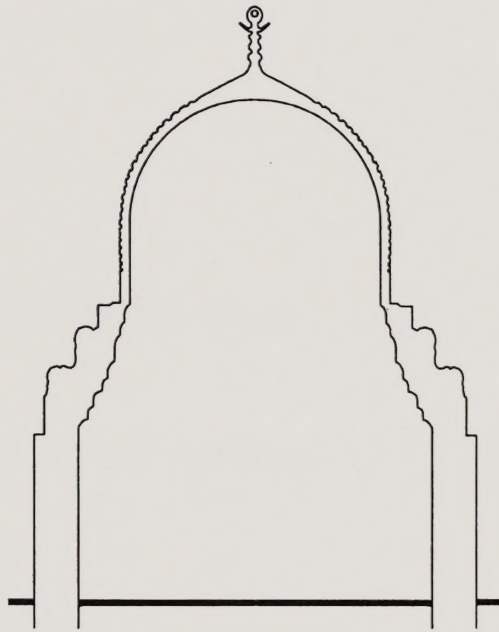
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INTRODUCTION

THE EGYPTIANS have been preoccupied with the idea of death and the afterlife since time immemorial. The long tradition of funerary architecture of pharaonic Egypt persisted throughout the Greco-Roman and Coptic periods. Muslim Egypt was no exception, in spite of the supposed aversion of the Arab conquerors to the practices of the cult of the dead and its physical locus, the cemeteries.

The history of the *qarafa*, the name of a Yemenite clan that became a generic name for cemetery in Egypt, starts with the foundation of Fustat by 'Amr. The *qarafa* or the burial place of Fustat was located between the city proper and the slopes of al-Muqattam hill. It grew to the south, north, and east into the Greater and Lesser Qarafa with the growth of the city and the foundation of al-'Askar and al-Qatata'i'. The first royal cemeteries of al-Qahira were *intra muros*, but when it was opened to the common people, cemeteries were founded to the north of Bab al-Nasr and to the south east at Bab al-Wazir. The last stage of development of the cemeteries of Cairo under the Mamluks was the so-called Northern Cemetery, the focus of this study.

A roughly rectangular area measuring approximately 500m x 1500m (Fig. 1), extending from Bab al-Wazir in the south, a short distance away to the west of the wall of Cairo (now bordered by the modern street of Salah Salim), the foot of the Red Hill *al-gabal al-ahmar* in the north at the once existing land mark of Qubbat al-Nasr (the dome of Victory), and finally the slopes of Muqattam to the east.

CHAPTER 1

History and Urban Development

I-Bab al-Barqiyya, Qubbat al-Nasr, and al-Gabal al-Ahmar

THE SITES of Bab al-Barqiyya, Qubbat al-Nasr, and *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*, though not a part of the Northern Cemetery, were always associated with it in the Mamluk chronicles and used to define its borders (Fig. 2). Qubbat al-Nasr is described by Maqrizi as:

This *qubba* (dome) is a *zawiya* inhabited by poor Persians and it is outside of Cairo at the desert under *al-Gabal al-Ahmar* (the red hill) at the end of *maydan al-qabaq* from the north. It was renovated on behalf of al-Malik al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalawun by the amir Gamal al-Din Aqqush *na'ib* (viceroy) of al-Karak.¹

The Qubbat al-Nasr thus was a place for poor Persians (*sufis*) to live, pray, and practice their rituals, but was not associated with any particular saint or sect. Mamluk sultans, from the very early years of the state in the reign of al-Mansur 'Ali (655-7/1257-9), habitually descended from the Citadel in a parade through the desert to the site of Qubbat al-Nasr, re-entering Cairo from Bab al-Nasr (Fig. 3).² The exact location and importance of this site will be discussed later, but in general it was a landmark outside Cairo used extensively by Mamluk historians to designate monuments or events taking place in the Northern Cemetery.

Al-Gabal al-Ahmar is a hill to the north of al-Muqattam overlooking Cairo about 2.5km east of the north-east corner of the city. It was known as *al-Yihmum* meaning the dark black and was named, according to Maqrizi, for its different colors.³ It still bears the same name.

Bab al-Mahruq (the burnt) is another gate of the eastern wall of Cairo to the south of Bab al-Barqiyya facing the Northern Cemetery. It was named during the Ayyubid period as Bab al-Qaratin but the name was changed after it was burnt by the Bahri Mamluk regiment when they fled Cairo after the murder of their chief, Aqtay, by al-Mu'izz Aybak in 652/1254.⁴

Bab al-Barqiyya was in the middle of the eastern wall of Cairo (*Index* 614); its remains, including its foundation inscription, were discovered by Gaston Wiet in the late 1950's.⁵ It is dated 480/1087 and attributed to Badr al-Jamali by the foundation inscription and named after the adjacent quarter where the Fatimid troops of Barqa were stationed.⁶ Maqrizi mentioned Bab al-Barqiyya⁷ as one of the three gates of the eastern wall of Cairo, the other two being Bab al-Mahruq and al-Bab al-Gadid.⁸ 'Ali Mubarak guessed correctly when he equated Bab al-Barqiyya with the gate known in his time as Bab al-Gharib, one of the gates of Cairo that led to *turbat al-Rauda*⁹ and the rubbish mounds separating the eastern wall of Cairo from the Northern Cemetery (Fig. 2).¹⁰

¹Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 433.

²Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 7, 41.

³Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 1, 125.

⁴*Ibid.*, 383.

⁵Rogers, "Al-Kahira," 428.

⁶Wiet, "Une nouvelle inscription," 16.

⁷He also uses the name as a chapter title but left it blank. See Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 1, 383.

⁸*Ibid.*, 380.

⁹The part of the *sahara* in front of Bab al-Barqiyya between the walls of Cairo and the mounds up to the main street of the *sahara* is called *turbat al-rauda*, where the *khankah* of Umm Anuk (*Index* 81) is located. See Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 10, 11; Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, vol. 2, 243.

¹⁰Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, vol. 2, 243.

II-The beginning: *Maydan al-Qabaq*

The history of the Northern Cemetery reflects, to a great extent, the phases of development of the Mamluk state in Egypt from its inception in 648/1250 to its fall in 923/1517. Al-Zahir Baybars al-Bunduqdari (658-76/1260-77), though the fourth of the Mamluk Turkish sultans in Egypt,¹¹ is considered to be the real founder of the state and its principal institutions. As the Mamluks were essentially a military caste and their young state was under continuous threat of outside invasion by the ferocious Ilkhanids and, to a lesser extent by the Crusaders in Palestine, it was natural that the army was to become his main focus. He campaigned almost annually:¹² against his rebel Mamluks to consolidate the state, against the Ayyubid principalities in Syria to capture Crusader forts and towns, to subdue the Isma'ilis in their lofty mountain forts of Syria, or to punish the Armenians for their alliance with his mortal enemy, the Mongols. If the army was not in the field, Baybars made sure that the war equipment of his amirs and rank and file was complete. He also gave similar orders for the viceroys of Damascus and Aleppo and his Ayyubid ally, al-Malik al-Mansur of Hama, to do the same.¹³ Parades for review of the troops were organized in the Cairo Citadel; he would review all his army in a single day to make sure that every soldier owned a complete set of war equipment and that no one needed to borrow his weapons from another.¹⁴

Al-Zahir Baybars also built a hippodrome for troop parades and practice of war games to replace the old hippodrome built by the Ayyubid Badr al-Din Qaraqush that was dismantled to make way for his new mosque.¹⁵ This hippodrome became the first use of the northern part of the desert area outside Cairo which we now call the Northern Cemetery. This hippodrome (*maydan*) was called, among other names, *maydan al-qabaq* after a target game that was practised in the area.¹⁶ The location of this hippodrome is outside Cairo to the east:

...between the depression to which one descends from *qal'at al-gabal* (the Citadel of the Hill) and *qubbat al-nasr* (the victory dome) that is under *al-gabal al-ahmar* (the red hill). It is also called the *al-maydan al'aswad* (black), *maydan al-'id* (feast), *maydan al-akhdar* (green) and *maydan al-sibaq* (racing) and it is the *maydan* of the sultan al-Malik Al-Zahir Rukn al-Din Baybars al-Bunduqdari al-Salihi al-Nigmi. He built there a *mastaba* (platform)¹⁷ in Muharram 666.¹⁸

However the *maydan* had been used by Baybars since 662/1265, a few years earlier than the date of the *mastaba*.¹⁹ Baybars used to go to this *mastaba* when he was in Cairo every day from noon until sunset, throwing spears and encouraging his amirs, Mamluks and others to race horses, throw spears and shoot arrows.²⁰ He would urge them to compete and especially to bet in the target game called *qabaq* in order to perfect their riding, archery and other martial techniques of the period.

Al-qabaq in modern Turkish means a pumpkin or a gourd. The target game of *qabaq* consists of a hollow wooden disc fixed on top of a high wooden pole installed at the middle of the hippodrome. According to Maqrizi, archers would try to shoot their arrows through the opening of the disc to perfect their aim.²¹

The target was described by the later historian Ibn Taghribirdi (d.874/1470) as a golden or silver pumpkin fixed on top of a high pole installed in the hippodrome with a bird within the pumpkin. Mounted bowmen would aim the arrows at the pumpkin to hit it and release the bird. The precious pumpkin and a robe of honor would be the prize of the successful archer.²² The game was played up to the end of the Mamluk period in the newly built *maydan* of Qansuh al-Ghuri under the Citadel in the early 16th century.²³ It was also practiced in the early 17th century under the Ottomans, but again in another area.²⁴ It was al-Nasir Muhammad who had abandoned *Maydan al-Qabaq* and allowed buildings to creep into its vacant spaces, as will be seen below.

¹¹Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 1 pt. 1, 308.

¹²Holt, "Mamluks," 322.

¹³Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, 350.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 351; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 1, 517.

¹⁵Behrens-Abouseif, *Topography*, 13.

¹⁶Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 13.

¹⁷Amin and Ibrahim, *Architectural Terms*, glossary.

¹⁸Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 111.

¹⁹Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, *Sirat al-Malik al-Zahir*, 352.

²⁰Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 1, 573.

²¹Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol.2, 111.

²²Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 8, 16; Quatremere, *Histoire Des Sultans Mamlouks*, 243; Dozy, *Supplément*, vol. 2, 303; Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 1, 32; Sublit, *Les Trois Vie*, 108-9.

²³Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol 4, 46.

²⁴Behrens-Abouseif, "The North-Eastern Extension," 171.

III-Urban development under the Bahri Mamluks

Baybars's son, al-Sa'id Muhammad, kept his father's habit of parading the entire troops of Egypt and Syria under *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*,²⁵ i.e. at the hippodrome. Al-Sa'id Muhammad, who was nineteen years old when his father died, alienated the senior amirs of his father (*al-zahiriyya*) by favoring and listening to his own young private amirs (*al-khassikiyya*).²⁶ The senior amirs dethroned al-Sa'id Muhammad in 681/1279 in favor of his seven year old brother Salamish, who was in turn dethroned after three months, in favor of al-Mansur Qalawun.²⁷

During the long reign of Qalawun 678-89/1279-90 the sources are silent on the hippodrome. It could have been sparsely used due to the constant engagement of Qalawun and his army in military activities and conquests outside Cairo. While in Cairo he habitually paraded his troops in the *rahba* (court)²⁸ at the Citadel instead of at the hippodrome. The troops would come to the *rahba* from the Citadel barracks to practice with lances, wrestling and archery with their instructors while Qalawun watched over them from his throne.²⁹

On the death of Qalawun the sultanate passed to his son al-Ashraf Khalil in 689/1290. Al-Ashraf Khalil was known for his personal bravery and military conquests. To him fell the task of capturing Acre, the last Crusader possession in the Muslim east, in 690/1291.³⁰

Once again we hear of the festivities held in the *Maydan al-Qabaq* and the practice of the game in 692/1293. The occasion was the celebrations initially intended for the forthcoming birth of his first son and heir. When the new-born baby turned out to be an unwanted girl, the sultan claimed that the reason for the festivities was to celebrate the circumcision of his brother, the future sultan al-Nasir Muhammad and his nephew Muzaffar al-Din Musa. The *qabaq* game was practiced by the amirs to show off their skills. The celebrations took place for three days at a considerable cost to the treasury due the generous donations of the sultan to his favorite amirs, singers and entertainers, in addition to the usual extravagant banquets. The celebrations were stopped only by strong winds and heavy rain that spoiled the party and forced the sultan and the attendants to seek shelter in Cairo and the Citadel.³¹

Meanwhile Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil was planning a campaign to cross the Euphrates, by now the border line between the Mamluk sultanate and Ilkhanid territory, to regain Baghdad. He is said to have organized a parade for his troops in full war gear in *al-Maydan* as a preparation for the conquest, in the presence of the Mongol envoys and a large crowd of spectators.³² Though the name of the *Maydan* was not specifically mentioned in the sources, we are inclined to believe that it was *Maydan al-Qabaq*, as it was customary for the sultan to use this *maydan* and it was big enough to accommodate such a large crowd of troops and spectators. This would be the last parade of al-Ashraf Khalil in this area; he was assassinated by his father's senior amirs while in a hunting trip shortly afterwards in Muharam 693/December 1293.

During his first two reigns (693/1293-4 and 698-708/1299-1309) al-Nasir Muhammad b. al-Mansur Qalawun was only a nominal sultan; real power was in the hands of the senior amirs of his father. His first reign and the interregnums of al-'Adil Kitbugha 694-6/1294-6 and al-Mansur Lajin 696-8/1296-9 witnessed very little activity in the *maydan*, although both celebrated their accession by a procession from the Citadel down to Qubbat al-Nasr, returning via Bab al-Nasr and Bab Zuwaila to the Citadel.³³ It seems that polo was the favorite game of al-Mansur Lajin and was played at the *maydan*, where he once fell off his horse and broke his arm.³⁴

The second reign of al-Nasir Muhammad was dominated by the amirs Baybars al-Gashankir and Salar and the war with the Ilkhan Ghazan until the decisive victory of the Mamluk army near Damascus in 702/1303. During most of this period the area between the Citadel and Qubbat al-Nasr was an empty space³⁵ used occasionally as a center of mobilization and inspection of the troops prior to campaigns in Syria.³⁶ When al-Nasir Muhammad's plot for arresting

²⁵Al-'Aini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 2, 185.; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 7, 261.

²⁶A group of Mamluks owned by the sultan who would stay close to him in public and private and on trips to assist him. Usually they were given royal assignments and accompanied the *mahmal* sent every year to Mecca. They may be considered as the *aide de camps* of the sultan. See Qalqashandi, *Subh*, vol. 4, 6; Ayalon, "Khassikiyya," 1100.

²⁷Al-'Aini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 2, 187; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 7, 265.

²⁸Amin and Ibrahim, *Architectural Terms*, 53.

²⁹Al-'Aini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 3, 19.

³⁰Holt, *Mamluks*, 322.

³¹Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 112-3; Al-'Aini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 3, 166-70; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 8, 16.

³²Al-'Aini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 3, 187-8.

³³Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 8, 57 and 87.

³⁴Al-'Aini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 3, 398-9; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 8, 88-9.

³⁵Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 113.

³⁶Al-'Aini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 4, 124.

the two magnates Baybars al-Gashankir and Salar in 707/1307 failed, the common people demonstrated in his support and they could not be calmed down until the sultan paraded with his amirs through *Maydan al-Qabaq* to Qubbat al-Nasr.³⁷

The long third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad (709-41/1310-41) is marked by the disappearance of external threats; the last Mongol invasion by the Ilkhan Öljeitu in the winter of 712/1312-13 was aborted, and the danger of a crusade was long gone with the fall of Acre, the last Frankish base in Syria.³⁸ The sultan turned now to deal with his internal enemies, and he dealt with them with a vengeance. Baybars al-Gashankir, who was the sultan during the second interregnum of al-Nasir Muhammad (708-9/1309-10), was strangled in front of him in the Citadel in 709/1310³⁹ and in the following year the second magnate Salar was starved to death on the orders of the sultan.⁴⁰ Afterwards al-Nasir Muhammad embarked on a deliberate policy of purging and physical elimination of all the senior amirs of his father and brother, replacing them with his own, mostly young, Mamluks.⁴¹ In a single day he captured twenty-two of the senior amirs, many of whom were aspiring to be sultans.⁴² In this way al-Nasir Muhammad established an autocratic rule on the political level which was furthered by economic action. In 715/1315 he ordered a cadastral survey which registered and redistributed all arable land of Egypt as *iqta'at* for the benefit of his own amirs, and enlarged his personal holdings to an unprecedented level.⁴³ It was natural that the acquired wealth be used in large construction projects as he was an avid builder and encouraged his Mamluks to do the same, secretly providing them with money (*mal*) and equipment (*alat*).⁴⁴

The new political and economic climate of al-Nasir Muhammad had far-reaching implications on the urban development of Cairo in general and the Northern Cemetery in particular. The military zeal of the first few decades of the Mamluk rule subsided due to the disappearance of a serious outside threat. Mamluk foreign military campaigns from now on were restricted to border skirmishes or pirate-like attacks on the islands of the Levant (especially Cyprus) still held by the remnants of the Crusaders. Moreover the newly appointed amirs were young and lacked the military experience and war traditions of their predecessors. The sultan later became suspicious and ruthlessly suppressed any threat to his authority, real or imagined. In 741/1341 he executed Tankiz al-Husami,⁴⁵ his own Mamluk viceroy of Syria for thirty years and his father-in-law, when he doubted his loyalty.

The only part of the Northern Cemetery so far delineated, the *maydan*, was used for military training, practice of war games, polo and parades, but there were no buildings known to us until the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad.⁴⁶ He was more interested in bird hunting, polo and horse racing than military parades, archery or playing with the lance. It seems that the *qabaq* game went out of fashion during that period as we hear no more of it being practiced. Bird hunting was practiced wherever the sultan found an area rich in hawks or falcons and other birds of prey and employed scores of amirs and assistants to arrange for the hunting ventures.⁴⁷ It is suggested that he abandoned *Maydan al-Qabaq* for a new *mastaba* built for him at Birkat al-Habash south of Fustat for bird feeding and hunting (*mat'am al-tair*),⁴⁸ which he abandoned later when anonymous letters against his amirs and other state dignitaries were thrown to him using pigeons.⁴⁹

Polo was the favorite sport of al-Nasir and he was said to be the best player of his time.⁵⁰ It was not played at *Maydan al-Qabaq* but at a new *maydan* that was built in front of the Citadel called *al-maydan bi'l-qal'a*.⁵¹ Al-Nasir Muhammad returned to *Maydan al-Qabaq* after 720/1320⁵² for another reason, related to his hobby of horse breeding. He had in his stables over three thousand of the best bred stallions which he acquired and bred at a great cost. A yearly race was held at *Maydan al-Qabaq* where the best horses of the amirs and the nomadic Arabs would compete with each

³⁷Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 8, 173-4.

³⁸Holt, *Mamluks*, 323.

³⁹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 8, 275.

⁴⁰Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 18.

⁴¹Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 29.

⁴²Ibn Habib, *Tazkirat al-nabih*, vol. 2, 21.

⁴³Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 42, 51-54; Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 30.

⁴⁴Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 185.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 151-60; Ibn Habib, *Tazkirat al-nabih*, vol. 2, 321.

⁴⁶Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 113.

⁴⁷Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 170.

⁴⁸Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 113.

⁴⁹Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 208.

⁵⁰Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 179.

⁵¹Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 228.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 113.

other and against those bred at the royal stables. The winners, if not already belonging to him, would be bought by the sultan at extremely high prices.⁵³

During the third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad the Northern Cemetery witnessed the first major change in its history as buildings appeared for the first time, no doubt due to the intensive rush for building construction that marked the era. The historical development of the area will be established by a survey of the sources for the sequence of buildings constructed within its boundaries. Only buildings with explicit attribution to the *sahara* are included in this analysis. Persons mentioned in the sources as being buried in the area are only included when a newly constructed building is associated with this burial incident. For example the sources mention that a notable from *ahl al-qalam*, the *qadi* Sharaf al-Din Muhammad b. Nasr Allah, died in 833/1430 and was buried in the *sahara*, but there is no indication if he was buried in a tomb he built for himself or not.⁵⁴ Based on this methodology his tomb is therefore excluded from the lists. The assumption is that several persons, sometimes unrelated, may share the same mausoleum.

The terminology normally used with this building genre is varied,⁵⁵ *turba*, translated here as mausoleum, is the most commonly used term in the *sahara*.⁵⁶ Other terms such as *qabr* and *maqbara* are usually used to mean a tomb, i.e. one without a building to mark it, or simply to mean a grave. Maqrizi, for example, says that al-Zahir Barquq willed that a *turba* (mausoleum) should be built on his *qabr* (tomb or grave).⁵⁷ Other terms for a mausoleum popularly used in medieval Egypt, such as *qubba*, are used in inscriptions and *waqfiyyas* but seldom in the sources. None of the mausoleums in the area is known to have been identified as *mashhad*, a term normally reserved for the mausoleums of saints from the members of Prophets family (*ahl al-bayt*) or others, such as Imam al-Shafi'i, but which can mean also any large mausoleum in general.⁵⁸

The first to build there was the amir Shams al-Din Qarasunqur⁵⁹ at a date not later than 711/1311-12, when he defected to the Mongols. He built a mausoleum and a mosque over a water fountain (*sabil*), the remains of which survived until the time of Maqrizi (d. 1441). In spite of the consensus of historians that Qarasunqur was the first to build in the area, the same historians—Maqrizi, Ibn Taghribirdi and Nur al-Din al-Sakhawi—mention that 'Uthman B. Gaushan (d. 707/1307) built a mausoleum on the fringes of the area outside Bab al-Nasr.⁶⁰ Another source mentions that he built a *zawiya* by 705/1305.⁶¹ Therefore, Qarasunqur must have built his mausoleum earlier than Ibn Gaushan (i.e. before 705/1305) or that he was cited first because he was the more famous of the two or because he built his mausoleum right in the area of *Maydan al-Qabaq* and not on its fringes as Ibn Gaushan did.

The next to build in the area near to Qarasunqur's complex was Nizam al-Din Adam, the brother of Salar, who also built a mausoleum, a *sabil*, and an elevated mosque on top of the *sabil*. Amirs, soldiers and the inhabitants of the Husayniyya district followed suit until the road to the hippodrome was blocked by tombs.⁶² The hippodrome near Cairo fell into disuse after al-Nasir Muhammad died in 741/1341, when the site and the space surrounding it became available for the amirs and other notables to build in what was known from then on in the sources as the *sahara* 'zahir al-qahira—the desert outside of Cairo—or the *sahara* for short.

During the twenty years following the death of al-Nasir Muhammad, eight of his sons became sultans, mostly in name only, with the power in the hands of his former Mamluks in what is normally known as the period of al-Nasir Hasan (d. 762/1361) and his seven brothers. The political climate of the period was dominated by struggle for power among the amirs of al-Nasir Muhammad, with no one being strong enough to dominate the others and become sultan himself. This was the result of the policy of al-Nasir to eliminate any powerful amir who could threaten the sultan.

The reign of al-Nasir Hasan witnessed the end of the dominance of the amirs of his father, al-Nasir Muhammad. Some had died naturally by then, but most perished in this power struggle. Al-Nasir Hasan got rid of the tutelage of Sargatmish al-Nasiri (Muhammad) and promoted his own amirs, chief among them Yalbugha al-'Umari and Taybugha al-Tawil. His policy of recruiting and promoting the *awlad al-nas*⁶³ into the ranks of the Mamluks won him the wrath of

⁵³Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 168-9; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 230.

⁵⁴Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 18, 182; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 156-57.

⁵⁵Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 255-60.

⁵⁶Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 113, 464.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 464.

⁵⁸Taylor, *Cult of the Saints*, 69.

⁵⁹Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 187; Sakhawi, *Tuhfat al-ahbab*, 37.

⁶⁰Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 245, 421; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 7, 415; Sakhawi, *Tuhfat al-ahbab*, 38. The last source call him Ibn Hawshab instead of Ibn Gaushan which must be a transcription mistake since his other names and date of death are identical with the first two sources.

⁶¹Sakhawi, *Tuhfat al-ahbab*, 38.

⁶²Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464.

⁶³Literally meaning children of (high class) people, in the *mamluk* context it denotes the offspring of the first generation mamluks. In other words they are second generation *mamluks*.

his own Mamluk household. In an act of treachery rare even by Mamluk standards, Yalbugha al-ʿUmari and his *khushdash* (member of the same Mamluk household) Taybugha al-Tawil conspired against their *ustaz*⁶⁴ and had him slain in 762/1361.⁶⁵

The remaining twenty years of the Bahri period were again a period of unrest and struggle among the Mamluks of al-Nasir Hasan with nominal sultans from the Qalawun family. It was marked by the ascendancy of the Mamluks of Yalbugha al-ʿUmari, mainly of Circassian origin. Another striking feature of the period was the meteoric rise in rank of several Mamluks from rank and file or from the junior rank of *amir ʿashara* (commander of ten soldiers) to supreme command and highest offices of the state. Tashtamur al-Lafaf was promoted to the post of *atabik al-ʿasakir* (commander-in-chief) from rank and file after killing al-Ashraf Shaʿban in 778/1376. Likewise his colleagues in the conspiracy Qaratay al-Tazi, Aynbak al-Badri, Qutluqtamur al-ʿAlaʿi, and Asandamur al-Sarghitmishi were all promoted from rank-and-file to the highest echelons of power and soon became victims of the bloody power struggle that ensued.⁶⁶ Barquq al-ʿUthmani, another rank-and-file *mamluk* of Yalbugha al-ʿUmari who was recently appointed as a junior amir, was promptly promoted to the senior command of *amir akhur*⁶⁷ in 778/1376 for his services to one of the competing factions.⁶⁸ Eventually Barquq usurped the sultanate of the last sultan of the Qalawun family, al-Salih al-Mansur Haggi (783-4/791-2/1389-90).⁶⁹

None of the favored amirs of al-Nasir Muhammad, such as Bashtak al-Nasiri, Qawsun, Altunbugha al-Maridini, Baktimur al-Saqi, Aqsunqur al-Nasiri, Maliktamur al-Higazi, and Yalbugha al-Yihyawī, were buried in the *sahara*.⁷⁰ Only less important notables had mausoleums in the area during the Bahri Mamluk period, plus a few non-amirial patrons.

A large area of two acres was procured by the *sufis* of the *khanqah* of Saʿid al-Suʿadaʿ,⁷¹ surrounded by a wall, and used as a burial ground for their dead. It was enlarged in 790/1388 with an area taken from the tomb of Qarasunqur (before 711/1311).⁷² The build up of tombs for *sufis* in the area not only attracted visitors, but also stimulated people to build their own tombs near to those holy men. The long-term consequences of this *sufi* association on the development of the *sahara*, especially under the Burgi Mamluks, and on the prevailing type of the foundations in the area, will be shown later.

Many other monuments were founded in the *sahara* during this period, but have mostly vanished. Maqrizi⁷³ gives a long list that includes many notables so that the buildings extended from *Maydan al-Qabaq* to *turbat al-Rauda* (Rauda cemetery) outside Bab al-Barqiyya. The best known tombs were those of amir Masʿud b. Khatir, the mamluk of Tankiz and viceroy of Gaza and Tripoli (d. 754/1353).⁷⁴ His tomb had a stone minaret that lasted to the time of Maqrizi (d. 1441) who claims that it had no match. Al-Magd al-Sallami, the famous slave trader and ambassador of al-Nasir Muhammad, died in 743/1342-3 and was buried in the tomb he built in the same area outside Bab al-Nasr.⁷⁵ Amir Kukai, the *silahdar* (d. 749/1348) of al-Nasir Muhammad, built a tomb in the *sahara* near *turbat al-sufiyya*. At the far end of *Maydan al-Qabaq* near Qubbat al-Nasr a tomb was built by Tagar (spelled as Tagay in the *Khitat*) al-Dawadar, one of the favorite *mamluks* of al-Nasir Muhammad. He was killed in Alexandria in 742/1342.⁷⁶

Amir Tughaytamur al-Nigmi al-Dawadar (d. 748/1347), who was one of the *mamluks* of al-Nasir Muhammad, built in this area a large *khanqah* known as al-Nigmiyya⁷⁷ with a *hammam*, a *sabil* for animals and a garden to the south.⁷⁸ It

⁶⁴Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 314; *Manhal*, vol. 7, 37; Ibn Iyas, *Badaʿi al-zuhur*, vol. 1 pt. 1, 575-77.

⁶⁶Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 190-91; Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 87.

⁶⁷The commander in charge of the royal stables.

⁶⁸Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 159-60.

⁶⁹He is the only Mamluk sultan to change his reign title in his second sultanate.

⁷⁰As we shall call the area from now on following the practice of the Mamluk historians.

⁷¹It was the first *khanqah* founded in Egypt by the Ayyubid al-Nasir Salah al-Din for *sufis* coming from outside Cairo in the house of *dar al-wazara* of the former Fatimid wazirs.

⁷²Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464.

⁷³*Ibid.*

⁷⁴Most probably he was buried in Damascus. See Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 906; *Khitat*, vol. 2, 55; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 10, 292-93; Ibn Hagar, *Durar*, vol. 4, 349.

⁷⁵Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 43.

⁷⁶Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 10, 75; Ibn Habib, *Tazkirat al-nabih*, vol. 3, 31.

⁷⁷Ibn Hagar, *Durar*, vol. 2, 223.

⁷⁸Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 425.

was built in front of Bab al-Mahruq in the reign of al-Salih Isma'il (743-6/1342-5).⁷⁹ It fell into disuse but was rehabilitated at the beginning of 9th/15th century.⁸⁰

Amir Tashtumar Tulliyya al-Nasiri (Muhammad), one of the nine leading amirs of al-Nasir Hasan,⁸¹ had a tomb built in the area. He died in 749/1349.⁸²

A venerated mystic with the name of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi with several followers lived in the *sahara* and had a *zawiya* carrying his name near the later madrasa and mausoleum of Qaytbay (877-79/1470-72, *Index* 99) as mentioned at the latter's *waqfiyya*.⁸³ When he died in 749/1348 he was buried in a tomb near his *zawiya*, which was visited by many of his followers⁸⁴ and was later used for the burial of members of his family.⁸⁵ The memory of this mystic survived long after his death, and may have influenced Qaytbay's choice of this site for his complex almost one hundred and twenty-five years later.

Ulghaybugha al-Muzaffari, a *khasaki* of al-Muzaffar Haggi built a *khanqah* in the *sahara* for several *sufis* with the usual *sabil* and *kuttab*. It soon fell into disuse after Barquq annulled its *waqfiyya*.⁸⁶ Ulghaybugha was appointed viceroy of Tripoli after the killing of his master al-Muzaffar Haggi and was executed in Damascus 750/1349 for killing and confiscating the property of the viceroy of Damascus without orders. He was twenty years old when he died.⁸⁷

Mankalibugha al-Fakhri (d. 753/1352)⁸⁸ had a mausoleum the remains of which still exist, in the middle part of the *sahara* near the later mausoleum of Qaytbay.⁸⁹ His *dawadar* and *ustadar* were also buried in the same area.⁹⁰ Other notables such as *al-tawashi* Muhsin al-Baha',⁹¹ and Arnan al-Nasiri Hasan (d. 755/1354) also built tombs there according to Maqrizi.⁹² Several other notables are also known to have built in the *sahara* although they were not mentioned by Maqrizi in his *Khitat*. Qumari al-Nasiri had a tomb in the area; he was one of the favorites of al-Nasir Muhammad who made him *amir mi'a muqaddam alf*⁹³ and appointed him as *amir shikar*.⁹⁴ He was married to one of the sultan's daughters and died in 743/1342.⁹⁵

We know that Aqsunqur al-Rumi, a *mamluk* of al-Nasir Muhammad (not to be confused with Aqsunqur al-Nasiri) had a tomb in the area from the fact that al-Muzaffar Haggi (747-8/1346-7) was killed in or near this tomb next to Bab al-Mahruq.⁹⁶ He was a European merchant who came to Egypt during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad, converted to Islam, became an amir and was known for his knowledge of astrology and making poisons.⁹⁷ Other sources mention that he was an *amir akhur*⁹⁸ and that he died in 740/1340.⁹⁹

Amir Taz al-Nasiri (Muhammad) brought his father and brother from their homeland in Asia to Egypt in 752/1351. Both died in Syria shortly afterwards and were buried in Ma'rat al-Nu'man. Taz built a tomb for them in the *sahara* and buried them in it.¹⁰⁰ He became viceroy of Aleppo, was arrested and moved to Alexandria where he was blinded; he returned to Damascus¹⁰¹ (or to Jerusalem)¹⁰² to die in 754/1353.

⁷⁹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 6, 411-12; *Nugum*, vol. 10, 184-5; Ibn Habib, *Tazkirat al-nabih*, vol. 3, 99.

⁸⁰Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 425.

⁸¹Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 746.

⁸²He was called Tulliyya (meaning regard me) as he habitually used this phrase at the end of his talk. *Ibid.*, 794.

⁸³Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 19.

⁸⁴Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 7, 90-91.

⁸⁵Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh ibn qadi shuhba*, 591.

⁸⁶Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 421.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 10, 245; *Manhal*, vol. 3, 44-46.

⁸⁸A Mamluk of al-Nasir Muhammad, became one of magnates of al-Nasir Hasan during his first reign and was arrested by his successor al-Salih Salih in 752/1351 and died in the following year. See Ibn Hagar, *Durar*, vol. 4, 367.

⁸⁹Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 19.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹I could not find a biography nor the date of death of this person.

⁹²Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 51, 464.

⁹³The prince of hundred soldiers and leader of one thousand which is the highest rank in the Mamluk military hierarchy.

⁹⁴The prince in charge of the royal hunting.

⁹⁵Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 10, 101.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 172; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 1 pt. 1, 518. Thus we can conclude that its date is before 748/1347.

⁹⁷Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 716.

⁹⁸The prince in charge of royal stables.

⁹⁹Ibn Hagar, *Durar*, vol. 1, 393.

¹⁰⁰Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 886-7.

¹⁰¹Ibn Habib, *Tazkirat al-nabih*, vol. 3, 255

¹⁰²Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 15.

We know from the *waqfiyya*¹⁰³ of Qurqumas that Ibn Fadlallah had a tomb next to the early 16th century complex of Qurqumas (*Index* 162). Ibn Fadlallah is the name of a famous family of 'ulama' who were best known for keeping the post of *katib al-sirr* (confidential secretary) in Cairo and Damascus for the best part of the 14th century. The most famous of the family was 'Ali b. Yahia (d. 769/1367-8) who occupied the post of *katib al-sirr* in Cairo for almost thirty-three years and served twelve reigning sultans.¹⁰⁴ The last of the family to be appointed in the post was his son Badr al-Din Muhammad (d. 796/1393-4).¹⁰⁵ I therefore suggest a date before 769/1367-8, the year 'Ali b. Yahia died.¹⁰⁶

Another family of 'ulama', that of al-Qadi Sirag al-Hindi who died in 815/1412 at the age of seventy after a long career teaching Arabic and jurisprudence (*fiqh*) according to the Hanafi school, built a mausoleum in the area.¹⁰⁷ His son in law al-Qadi Galal al-Din Gar Allah was buried in this mausoleum in 782/1378, as well as several other Hanafi masters.¹⁰⁸

The Yalbugha al-'Umari mentioned above who died in 768/1366¹⁰⁹ is known to have been buried in his tomb in the *sahara*.¹¹⁰ The latest of the Bahri tombs that vanished is that of Mamaq al-Mangaki (d. 781/1379) who was buried near *dar al-diyafa* (guest house) outside the Citadel.¹¹¹

Only four monuments still exist from the Bahri Mamluk period and all of them are located at the far end of *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*, presumably where the *Maydan al-Qabaq* used to be. The earliest is the mausoleum of Tashtamur al-Saqi (*Index* 81, d 743/1342) which is dated 735/1334 by its foundation inscription.¹¹² He was known as *humus akhdar* (green chick peas), no doubt because of his fondness for this vegetable. He was one of the favorite *mamluks* of al-Nasir Muhammad and was promoted to the post of viceroy (*na'ib al-saltana*) of Safad and later of Aleppo. He was appointed viceroy by al-Nasir Ahmad in 742-3/1342 but was executed in Karak only 35 days after his appointment to this office.¹¹³

The second is the remains of the *khanqah* of Khawand Tughay (d. 749/1348, *Index* 81). She was the principal wife of al-Nasir Muhammad and the mother of his favorite son Anuk, thus she was best known as Umm Anuk.¹¹⁴

The third surviving monument is the portal and mausoleum of Princess Tulbay (765/1363-64).¹¹⁵ She was a freed Turkish slave of al-Nasir Hasan and became his wife; after his death she married his killer Yalbugha al-'Umari.¹¹⁶ Her name is given in other sources as Tulubiyya; she was said to be one of the most beautiful women of her age.¹¹⁷

The last existing monument¹¹⁸ from the Bahri period is the mausoleum of Taybugha al-Nasiri (Hasan) known as *al-tawil* (the tall), who died in 769/1367. He was one of the favorite *mamluks* of al-Nasir Hasan who promoted him to the leading rank of *amir mi'a muqaddam alf*. The foundation inscription gives his name and rank as *amir silah* of al-Ashraf Sha'ban (764-78/1363-77), but with no date. However, the mausoleum can be dated in the narrow range between 764/1363, the date when al-Ashraf Sha'ban became sultan and 768/1366, when Taybugha lost his post as *amir silah*.¹¹⁹

¹⁰³Misioriski, *Qurqumas*, 19, 60.

¹⁰⁴Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 102; Ibn Hagar, *Durar*, vol. 3, 138-39.

¹⁰⁵Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 12, 140-41.

¹⁰⁶For biographies of other members of the family, see Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 316.

¹⁰⁷Ibn Hagar, *Zaiyl al-durar*, 224.

¹⁰⁸Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh ibn qadi shuhba*, 53, 236.

¹⁰⁹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 40; vol. 12, 153; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 3, 137.

¹¹⁰The head of Yalbugha was separated from his body and left out in the open without formal burial. Tashtamur al-Dawadar, one of the leading amirs and *atabik al-'asakir* before Barquq searched for the body, put it back together with the head, washed the corpse, wrapped it in a shroud, and prayed for him in the customary Islamic funerary ritual then buried him in his own (Yalbugha's) mausoleum during the night. The text of this incident was misunderstood by the editor of *al-Nugum* and the footnote mistakenly suggests that the burial was in the mausoleum of Tashtamur al-Dawadar (see: Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 40). This misunderstanding led al-Hadad in his M.A. thesis to mistakenly include a mausoleum for Tashtamur al-Dawadar (not to be confused with Tashtamur al-Saqi known as Hummus Akhdar) in the Northern Cemetery. See Al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*.

¹¹¹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 201.

¹¹²Creswell, *BIFAO*, 96.

¹¹³Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 6, 392-94; Ibn Habib, *Tazkirat al-nabih*, vol. 2, 21, 37.

¹¹⁴Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 425.

¹¹⁵Creswell, *BIFAO*, 111.

¹¹⁶Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 3, 95.

¹¹⁷Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 84.

¹¹⁸Only the portal and the western facade still exists and a well inside that must have belonged to the compound. See pls. 23 to 26.

¹¹⁹Van Berchem, *CIA*, vol. 1, 275-7; Creswell, *BIFAO*, 111.

IV-Development under the Burgi Mamluks

The sultanate of al-Zahir Barquq (784-91/1382-9 and 792-801/1390-9) marks the ascendancy of the Circassian Mamluks as the dominant ethnic group of the ruling elite. Henceforward, all senior posts of the state and the large *iqta'at* (fiefs) were to be given to the Circassians only, contrary to the Bahri practise where posts and fiefs were allocated according to the skills and bravery of the candidates irrespective of their ethnic origin.¹²⁰ This could have contributed to the deterioration of the Mamluk state and is said to have been regretted by Barquq late in life.¹²¹

The succession to the sultanate from this point on follows a regular pattern whereby a son of the deceased sultan would be put on the throne until one of the magnates of the royal Mamluks belonging to the household of the sultan won over the others and usurped the throne for himself. The Burgi sultanate may thus be regarded as "constituting a dynasty by Mamluk clientage rather than blood descent".¹²²

The first Burgi Mamluk building in the *sahara'* was the *khanqah* of Yunus al-Dawadar, one of the loyal senior amirs of al-Zahir Barquq, who died in 791/1389 in Syria fighting for him against the rebel Yalbugha al-Nasiri the viceroy of Aleppo. It was built within *Maydan al-Qabaq* in an area used previously for horse racing as indicated by the columns (*awamid*) found there at the time of Maqrizi (d. 1441) known as the racing columns.¹²³ Anas al-Uthmani, father of al-Zahir Barquq who came to Egypt in his old age when his son was still *atabik al-asakir*, was buried in the mausoleum of Yunus al-Dawadar in 783/1382, as indicated by the stone inscription band on the mausoleum (*Index* 157), which is the only part of the *khanqah* that still exists. Therefore the *khanqah* must have been built before this date, but not later than 19 Ramadan 784/December 1382 when al-Zahir Barquq ascended the throne, as the inscription band refers to him as Sayf al-Din Barquq without his regnal titles.¹²⁴

The Hanbali *qadi al-qudah* (chief judge) Muwaffaq al-Din Ahmad al-Hanbali belonging to a family of Hanbali judges died in 803/1400¹²⁵ and is known to have a mausoleum in the *sahara'* near the mausoleum of Kukai and Qubbat al-Nasr. Several persons are known to have been buried in this mausoleum including his daughter,¹²⁶ son in law¹²⁷ and other Hanbali judges.¹²⁸

The next to build in the same area was Qajmas al-Salihi, the cousin of al-Zahir Barquq and one of his supporters, who died after 790/1388.¹²⁹ He also built a wall enclosing a large area that was used as a burial ground for several of the royal Mamluks. Three of the leading *sufis* and '*ulama*' of the period were also buried here.¹³⁰ The first was the Persian Hanafite shaykh al-'Ala' al-Sirami, one of the masters of religious sciences and *shaykh al-shuyukh* of the Zahirriyya madrasa built by Barquq at Bayn al-Qasrayn in Cairo. He died in 790/1388.¹³¹ The second was al-shaykh al-Mu'taqad Talha al-Maghrabi (d. 794/1392), a confidant of al-Zahir Barquq, who always kept his company even inside the usually forbidden *harim*.¹³² The last was Abu Bakr al-Baga'i (d. 796/1394), a *sufi* with many followers and believers including Barquq.¹³³

Amir Sudun al-Fakhri, a Mamluk of Shaykhu al-Nasiri (Hasan) who was promoted in the ranks until he became the *na'ib al-saltana* (viceroys) of Egypt under al-Zahir Barquq, was buried in this area. Together with Qajmas al-Salihi he kept his loyalty to Barquq throughout his two reigns in spite of the setbacks suffered. He was highly respectful of Barquq to the extent that he dared to drink in public only after Sudun died. He lived long enough to retire in 797/1394-5 and die naturally in 798/1396, a rare end for a high ranking amir in those troubled days.¹³⁴ He was buried in his mausoleum outside Bab al-Barqiyya,¹³⁵ near the mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil.¹³⁶

¹²⁰Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 6, 396.

¹²¹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 12, 88.

¹²²Holt, *Mamluks*, 324.

¹²³Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 426.

¹²⁴Van Berchem, *CIA*, vol. 1, 293-4; Creswell, *BIFAO*, 115.

¹²⁵Ibn Hagar, *Zaiyl al-durar*, 97.

¹²⁶Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh ibn qadi shuhba*, 199.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, 499.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, 121.

¹²⁹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 358, 368.

¹³⁰Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 426.

¹³¹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 316-17; *Manhal*, vol. 2, 172-75.

¹³²Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 12, 130; *Manhal*, vol. 6, 433-34.

¹³³Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, 142.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, 151-52; *Manhal*, vol. 6, 104-09.

¹³⁵Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh ibn qadi shuhba*, 597.

¹³⁶*Sakhawi, Tibr*, 420.

The first known *zawiya* to be built in the area, after Qubbat al-Nasr near *al-gabal al-ahmar*, was that of 'Ali Kuhnabush (d. 723/1323), a Turkish or Circassian *sufi* of great chastity and good reputation, in whose spiritual powers many Mamluks believed. The *zawiya* was built for 'Ali Kuhnabush by amir Sudun al-Fakhri not later than 798/1396, the date of the amir's death.¹³⁷

Tanibik al-Yahiawi an *amir akhur*, a prince of the first rank and one of the favorite amirs of al-Zahir Barquq, died in 800/1400 and was first buried near the mausoleum of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi and then moved to a new mausoleum near the *khanqah* of Taybugha al-Tawil.¹³⁸

Hasan al-Kugkuni, an amir of the first rank and viceroy of Karak died in 801/1398-9 and was buried at his tomb in the *sahara* opposite the *hawsh* of Barquq.¹³⁹ As viceroy of Karak he refused to execute the orders to kill Barquq when he was at his custody during Barquq's interregnum and set him free. Barquq paid him back by promoting him when he regained the sultanate.¹⁴⁰

Mankalibugha Karaga al-Zahiri *amir tablakhana* (commander of forty *mamluks*) died in 801/1399 and was buried in his tomb at the *sahara* at the age of thirty.¹⁴¹

Kumushbugha al-Hamawi died in prison in Alexandria and was buried at his tomb outside Bab al-Mahruq¹⁴² in the *sahara* in 801/1399. He was a great amir and supporter of Barquq. Kumushbugha was appointed to many high posts including the viceroyalty of Aleppo and *atabik al-asakir* in Egypt.¹⁴³ He was ousted from his post and imprisoned at the order of Barquq after he accused the sultan of trying to blind him.¹⁴⁴ Barquq was pleased to hear of his death because he was the last surviving magnate of Yalbugha al-'Umari's household posing a threat to his throne.¹⁴⁵

Bagas al-Nauruzi (d. 803/1400), a leading amir under Barquq and one of his favorites¹⁴⁶ was buried at a mausoleum he built for himself in the *sahara*. According to the *waqfiyya* of al-Qadi 'Abd al-Basit b. Khalil (d. 854/1450) his mausoleum, which is next to the complexes of Inal (*Index* 158) and Qurqumas (*Index* 162), was also next to the mausoleum of Bagas.¹⁴⁷

Burying those three shaykhs in the *sahara* mentioned above had a far-reaching influence on the development of the area, for al-Zahir Barquq on his deathbed dictated a will in which he allocated 80,000 *dinars* for building up a mausoleum for himself at the *sahara* near the tomb of Yunus al-Dawadar so that he would be buried at the feet of those holy men in whose sainthood he deeply believed.¹⁴⁸ His son and successor, al-Nasir Farag (801-8/1399-1405 and 808-15/1405-12), complied and immediately started work on a *khanqah* and mausoleum for his father at the site chosen, the first of a long series of royal foundations in the area. This magnificent complex consisting of a *khanqah*, mosque, two mausoleums, two *sabils* and lecture halls was started in 801/1389-99 and completed in 813/1411.¹⁴⁹ 'Al-Nasir Farag visited the complex in 813/1410 and appointed Badr al-Din al-'Agami to be its *shaykh*, allocated forty *sufis* for its *khanqah* and arranged for their necessary daily provisions of bread and cooked mutton.¹⁵⁰

The relatively long reign of al-Nasir Farag was an endless saga of internal conflicts between him and his ever rebellious amirs. His numerous campaigns to Syria¹⁵¹ in pursuit of his mutinous amirs drained the treasury and devastated the cities of Egypt and Syria.¹⁵² Rather than being surprised that it took him so long to complete the complex, the wonder is how he managed to realize this magnificent scheme in the midst of a prolonged conflict with a devastated economy.

One of the earliest tombs to be built in the *sahara* during the reign of al-Nasir Farag was built by Faris al-Qutluqgawi al-Zahiri (Barquq) known as *al-a'rag* (the lame), an amir of highest rank who held the office of *hagib al-*

¹³⁷Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 4, 544; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 160; Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 6, 62.

¹³⁸Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh ibn qadi shuhba*, 674.

¹³⁹Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 2, 26.

¹⁴⁰Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 13, 6.

¹⁴¹Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 2, 27.

¹⁴²Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 3, 982.

¹⁴³Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 13, 9-10.

¹⁴⁴Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 2, 28-9.

¹⁴⁵Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 12, 100.

¹⁴⁶Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 3, 241.

¹⁴⁷Al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*, 114.

¹⁴⁸Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 3, 104.

¹⁴⁹Ministry of Waqfs, *Mosques*, 74; Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 136.

¹⁵⁰Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 103; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 4, 135.

¹⁵¹Al-Nasir Farag organized eight campaigns to Syria all of them against his amirs except one in 803/1400 against Timur. See Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 135.

¹⁵²Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 4, 227.

hugab (chief chamberlain).¹⁵³ He was killed in Damascus in 802/1399-1400 during the mutiny of the *atabik* Itamish al-Bagasi and only his head was buried in his tomb at the *sahara*.¹⁵⁴

The tomb of Kazal al-Nasiri (*Index* 89) was misleadingly called Karkar¹⁵⁵ and is dated by inscription to 805/1403. We only know that he was given the lowest rank in the Mamluk army (amir '*ashara*') by Barquq in the year 793/1391.¹⁵⁶

Qutlubik al-*Ala'i*, bearing a middle rank, was in the service of Itmish al-Bagasi *atabik al-*asakir** of Barquq and is known to have a mausoleum in the area. The sources mention that amir Aytмыш al-Khudari (d. 846/1442-3) was buried in Qutlubik's mausoleum in the *sahara*.¹⁵⁷ Qutlubik was related in marriage with one of the most intriguing characters of this era, *al-qadi* (judge) amir Sa'd al-Din b. Ghurab, who also built his still extant tomb in the *sahara* (*Index* 94) dated before 808/1405, the year he died. Ibn Ghurab, born in Alexandria to a converted Coptic family, managed to gain the confidence of al-Zahir Barquq by betraying his protégé and became *nazir al-Khass* (controller of the private treasury) at the age of twenty. Al-Nasir Farag kept his services and made him *nazir al-gaysh* (controller of the army) as well. Although earlier he intrigued against al-Nasir Farag, he later hid him at his house and supported him financially when al-Nasir was deposed briefly in 808/1405. On the return of al-Nasir Farag to the sultanate, Ibn Ghurab boasted that he deposed the sultan and brought him back and that, had he wished, he could have taken the sultanate for himself.¹⁵⁸ Shortly before he died of natural causes at the age of thirty, he was appointed *amir mi'a muqaddam alf*, the highest military rank in the Mamluk hierarchy, though he did not belong to the caste. He changed his dress to that of a Mamluk, abandoning the traditional dress of the *alim* of the civil service, a rare feat in the Mamluk closed ranks.¹⁵⁹

Alansh al-Sha'bani, *na'ib* (viceroy) of the Citadel of Cairo, died in 809/1406-7 and was buried at his tomb in the *sahara* near the tomb of al-Zahir Barquq at Qubbat al-Nasr.¹⁶⁰

Another civilian notable and a rival of Ibn Ghurab who had a tomb in the area is Gamal al-Din Yusuf al-Ustadar (majordomo). Born in Syria, he moved to Egypt and eventually became *vazir* and *nazir al-khass* after the death of his enemy Ibn Ghurab. He was bloodthirsty and avaricious, killing many and accumulating a large fortune. Like his rival Ibn Ghurab, he dressed like a Mamluk, but unlike Ibn Ghurab he was arrested by al-Nasir Farag and executed in 812/1409.¹⁶¹

Aqbay min Husayn Shah al-Tarantay al-Zahiri (Barquq), known as *al-hagib* (chamberlain), was appointed to several high posts and died in 812/1409. The sources are silent about his burial place except for one¹⁶² which indicates that he was buried in the tomb he built for himself in the *sahara* outside Bab al-Barqiyya at the Rauda (meaning he had a tomb on the fringes of the *sahara* in the tombs known as *turbat al-Rauda* in front of Bab al-Barqiyya).¹⁶³

Qujajuk al-Zahiri (Barquq), who died in 813/1410, built a tomb at the *sahara* near to the complex of Qurqumas, as mentioned in the latter's *waqfiyya*, at which he was buried.¹⁶⁴ He was promoted under al-Nasir Farag until he reached the high ranking post of *dawadar kabir* (principal secretary). A good looking *mamluk* not known for bravery or valour, he was therefore advanced by al-Nasir who considered him harmless.¹⁶⁵

It seems that the last year of al-Nasir Farag (814/1411-12), best known for the notorious massacres of more than six hundred al-Zahiriyya (Barquq) *mamluks*,¹⁶⁶ also witnessed the first attempt at secular urbanization of the *sahara*. The camel and donkey markets were transferred by al-Nasir Farag from under the Citadel to a place near his father's tomb, but moved back despite his orders a few days later after his untimely death.¹⁶⁷ Maqrizi adds:

¹⁵³ Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 13, 13.

¹⁵⁴ Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 2, 56. Nothing is known of the fate of the rest of his body.

¹⁵⁵ Creswell, *BIFAO*, 118.

¹⁵⁶ Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 3, 740.

¹⁵⁷ Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 2, 325; vol. 6, 224; *Tibr*, 49.

¹⁵⁸ Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464.

¹⁵⁹ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 1, 104-12; Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 2, 328-30.

¹⁶⁰ Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 2, 319.

¹⁶¹ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 13, 175.

¹⁶² Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 2, 260.

¹⁶³ Not to be confused with al-Rauda Island.

¹⁶⁴ Al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*, 115.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 178.

¹⁶⁶ Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 4, 201. Many of them were slaughtered like sheep by the sultan himself in his drinking bouts.

¹⁶⁷ Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464.

His (al-Nasir Farag's) intention was to build there a large *khan* for travellers and a market next to it. He built a flour mill, a *hammam*, and a bakery to urbanize the area with population, but the *hammam*, flour mill, and bakery were all deserted after his death.¹⁶⁸

Obviously the uncompleted *khan* was the nucleus of this ill-fated project since the area was outside Cairo but on the main route to Syria. The sudden death of the Sultan in Damascus shortly afterwards aborted the project. The market moved back to the Citadel and the other facilities were abandoned for lack of funds.

Aqbugha al-Qadidi, a *mamluk* of al-Zahir Barquq, a former *dawadar* of al-Atabik Yashbak and a *dawadar* of al-Nasir Farag built a tomb in the *sahara*'. He was one of al-Nasir Farag's favorites, the sultan having married his daughter. He always counselled the sultan but according to Ibn Hagar was killed by him in the massacre of his father's *mamluks*.¹⁶⁹ Other sources relate that he died naturally in Shawwal 814/January 1412 and was buried in the tomb he built for himself at the *sahara*' near the tomb of al-Zahir Barquq.¹⁷⁰

The rebels against al-Nasir Farag led by Shaykh al-Mahmudi and Nawruz al-Hafizi perused the Caliph of the period, al-Musta' in Billah, to depose al-Nasir and accept the sultanate, which he reluctantly did in 815/1412.¹⁷¹ During the next few months the Caliph was the Sultan in name only and was kept in forced seclusion at the Citadel in Cairo while Shaykh al-Mahmudi exercised the real power. Presently the Caliph was deposed and Shaykh became the sultan with the title al-Mu'ayyad. He quickly eliminated his enemies, including his arch-rival Nawruz al-Hafizi, and ruled in peace until he died in 824/1421. He was followed in quick succession by three sultans, thus this year 824/1421 was known as the year when four sultans ruled over Egypt.¹⁷²

None of the buildings from the reign of those four sultans has survived although several others are known to have been built from the sources. Fath Allah b. Mu'tasim b. Nafis al-Tabrizi (al-'Agami), chief doctor, then *katib al-sirr* (confidential secretary) of Barquq, Farag, and Shaykh, died in 816/1413 under torture. Although he accumulated a large fortune he was known for his lack of charity, except for the foundation of a tomb in the *sahara*' for which he endowed a large *waqf*.¹⁷³

'Abd al-Ghani b. Abu al-Farag, *wazir* and *ustadar* several times under al-Nasir Farag and al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, died in Shawwal 821/November 1418. He was first buried in his mosque in Bayn al-Sawrin but was moved later to the *sahara*'.¹⁷⁴

The other notable to build a tomb in the *sahara*' was Kafur al-Sarghitmishi *al-zimam*¹⁷⁵ near the mausoleum of Tashtumar Hummus Akhdar, which was completed and a *khutba* given there in Rabi' al-Thani 824/April 1421.¹⁷⁶ He was in the service of al-Zahir Barquq, and became a *zimam* and *khazindar* (treasurer) under Farag, dying at the old age of eighty in Rabi' al-Thani 830/February 1421.¹⁷⁷ He was fond of construction and endowed large sums and properties to his foundations. His tomb in the *sahara*' was richly decorated, well maintained with *sufis* and had a regular *khutba*.¹⁷⁸ It was meant to serve as a *khanqah* though it was very small in size.¹⁷⁹

Skaykh Mahmud b. Ahmad al-Aqsarawi, one of the '*ulama*' close to the heart of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and his son, died in 826/1423 and was buried in his family's tomb in the *sahara*'.¹⁸⁰

After the usual interim period as custodian of the young sultan, Barsbay secured enough support to usurp the sultanate for himself with the title of al-Ashraf in 825/1422. His long and prosperous reign (825-42/1422-38) was another turning point in the history of the *sahara*' for it received major royal patronage. Many of the foundations of the period still stand and are well documented by surviving endowment deeds and historical accounts. Barsbay is a typical

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹*Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 2, 490.

¹⁷⁰Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 185; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 4, 200; Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 2, 298.

¹⁷¹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 146-7.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*, 235.

¹⁷³Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 2, 335-36; Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 3, 29-30; al-'Aini, *al-Saiyyf al-muhanad*, 311-313.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 152-54.

¹⁷⁵In charge of the *harim* of the sultan or the amir, he was mostly a eunuch.

¹⁷⁶Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 3, 242; Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 331.

¹⁷⁷Some reported him as being ninety years old when he died:

Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 3, 384.

¹⁷⁸Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 6, 226.

¹⁷⁹Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 3, 242.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 295; Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 3, 15.

example of the Mamluk character with all its inherent paradoxes. He was pious, modest,¹⁸¹ fond of learning and mixing with erudite 'ulama',¹⁸² charitable with the *sufis* and the poor, dedicated to the cause of Islam¹⁸³ and an avid builder. Yet he was avaricious, collecting money by all possible means, including monopolizing the lucrative spice trade.

Barsbay's interest in the *sahara*, now closely associated with *sufi* practices after the establishment of the large *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag and the religious activities held in the area by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh,¹⁸⁴ was motivated by his piety and by the practical expediency of space availability. A burial court (*hawsh*) seems to have been ordered by Barsbay before 829/1427¹⁸⁵ as we hear of the burial of two notables with religious significance in this *hawsh*. The first was *shaykh al-Islam* Sarag al-Din 'Umar al-Hanafi, an accomplished scholar and master in the science of jurisprudence and several branches of learning. When he died he was the head of the Shaykhuniyya *khanqah*. The other is the *sharif* (descendant of the Prophet) Hasan b. 'Aglan, who was the amir of Mecca and died in Egypt at the age of sixty, shortly before his return to Mecca.¹⁸⁶

The earliest surviving monument of the reign of Barsbay is that of Ganibak al-Ashrafi (*Index* 106) the second *dawadar* of his *ustaz* (master) al-Ahraf Barsbay and the magnate ('*azim*) of his state. He died at the early age of twenty-five in Rabi' al-Thani 831/January 1428 and was buried first at his own mosque outside Bab Zuwayla and was then moved to the mausoleum built for him by the sultan near his complex. Ganibak was close to the sultan and they suffered many hardships together when Barsbay was still an amir. Sultan Barsbay in appreciation elevated him swiftly. Ganibak's power and wealth grew to the extent that he may have aspired to be sultan. He died of sudden illness at the height of his power, and the customary rumors that the sultan was responsible for his death persisted.¹⁸⁷

Yashbak al-Saqi al-Zahiri (Barquq) the lame died in Jumada al-Thani 831/November 1428 and was buried at his tomb in the *sahara* near the mausoleum of Tashtumar Hummus Akhdar.¹⁸⁸ Originally a Mamluk of Barquq, he took part in the uprising against al-Nasir Farag, where he was wounded and became lame. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh wanted to execute him because of his support to Nawruz al-Hafizi but banished him instead. He was promoted to *atabik al- \acute{a} sakir* during the reign of Barsbay. Yashbak was intelligent, shrewd, resolute, an accomplished equestrian and, in spite of his physical handicap, excelled in war games.¹⁸⁹

Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Muzhir of Syrian origin, *katib al-sirr* (confidential secretary) under al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and al-Ashraf Barsbay died in 832/1429 and was buried in a mausoleum he built for himself in the *sahara* near the mausoleum of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi.¹⁹⁰ The post of *katib al-sirr* remained in the family when he was succeeded by his eighteen year old son (also named Muhammad).¹⁹¹ His mausoleum was used to bury members of this famous family of civil servants throughout the 15th and early 16th century.¹⁹² The mausoleum was contiguous to the madrasa of Qaytbay, as indicated in the latter's *waqfiyya*.¹⁹³

¹⁸¹He abolished the custom long established since the Fatimids of kissing the ground in front of the sultan by prostrating as if in praying then physically kissing the ground. Instead the sultan ordained that it was enough that one bends down and touches the ground by his finger tip in a symbolic gesture of kissing the ground. See Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 247; Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 18, 4-5.

¹⁸²Badr al-Din al-'Aini the famous judge and historian was his favorite companion and counsel in all matters except politics and affairs of the state mainly due to his fluency in Turkish. See Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 18, 157-58; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 110-11; Ibrahim and O'Kane, "The Madrasa of Badr al-Din al-'Aini," 254.

¹⁸³He invaded Cyprus in 829/1426 in one of the most brilliant naval operations in the Mamluk history and their last attempt to wage war against what they considered infidels. For detailed account of the campaign see Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 18, 35f.; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 1, 292f.; al-'Aini, *Iqd al-gaman* (1989), vol. 2, 262f.

¹⁸⁴Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh went out to the *sahara* several times dressed as a *sufi* to perform prayers with large crowds and offer sacrifice begging God to lift the pestilence or to solicit rain in a dry season. See Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 78-90, 97-8.

¹⁸⁵Darrag, *Barsbay*, 411.

¹⁸⁶Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 18, 169-71; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 133-35; al-'Aini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 2, 304-5.

¹⁸⁷Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 18, 177, 78; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 148-49; *Manhal*, vol. 4, 232-35; Creswell, *BIFAO*, 126.

¹⁸⁸Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 10, 277.

¹⁸⁹Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 18, 179; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 151-52; Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 3, 417.

¹⁹⁰Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 9, 39-40.

¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, 197.

¹⁹²The demise of the family took place during the reign of Qansuh al-Ghuri when the three brothers all known as Ibn Muzhir tragically died in the year 910/1510-11. Badr al-Din Muhammad *katib al-sirr* (confidential secretary) died under torture when al-Ghuri accused him with conspiracy against the sultan and was buried in the mausoleum of his family in the *sahara*. His brother Kamal al-Din also a former *katib al-sirr* hanged himself out of fear of the wrath of the sultan, and Yusuf the third brother died during the plague of the same year. See Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 4, 67, 71, 76.

¹⁹³Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 19.

Yaqut al-Arghunshawī, the Abyssinian eunuch and *muqaddam* (commander) of the sultan's *mamluks*, died during the outbreak of the great plague in the winter of 833/1430 and was buried at his tomb in the *sahara*'. He was reportedly pious, pleasant, and praiseworthy.¹⁹⁴

Barsbay's major construction project was his multi-purpose complex at the *sahara*' (*Index* 121) which still partially stands, the second largest in the area after the *khanqah* of Farag. It consisted of a *khanqah* that perished except for part of its façade, a mausoleum for his brother¹⁹⁵ in the *hawsh* mentioned earlier, another mausoleum of which only the foundations survive, a madrasa, and his mausoleum attached to the madrasa. The complex was completed according to inscriptions by 835/1432.¹⁹⁶

On the other side of the street according to the endowment deed, the sultan built several structures: a *zawiya* for the *sufis* of al-Ahmediyya al-Rifa'iyya, a *bi'r* (well), a *saqiyya* (water wheel) and a *hawd* (water trough) with a kitchen, an ablution fountain and a meeting hall that were built behind the *hawd*. Another major structure on the same side of the street was a *qubba* with a mihrab and a grain mill. All those buildings have now disappeared except for the well and the *qubba*.¹⁹⁷

An amendment to the endowment deed of Barsbay dated Rabi' I 834/ January 1431 stipulates *inter alia* the allocation:

For a man of charity and honesty to be a *bawwab* (janitor) at the *turba* (tomb) of the late al-Sayfi Arunbugha located at the *sahara*' outside Bab al-Nasr. He is to open it up, lock it, sweep it, add fuel to its lamp and do the other customary works in similar cases, for a monthly (sum) in silver equivalent to fifteen dirhams.¹⁹⁸

We can conclude that a tomb or a mausoleum for a person who must have been a *mamluk* from his name and title was near the complex but not inside the *hawsh* and large enough to require a special janitor charged with its maintenance. The sources are silent on the date of death, profession, or relation of this Sayf al-Din Arunbugha to Barsbay.

Shaykh Hasan al-ʿAgami (i.e. of Persian origin) was a favorite of al-Ashraf Barsbay so he built for him a *zawiya* at the *sahara*' near the *khanqah* of Barquq before 842/1438. It seems that he used the protection of the sultan during his lifetime to abuse the notables of the state and was haughty and rude to them including Gaqmaq. When the latter became sultan he had him flogged and banished to Qus in upper Egypt, where most probably he died.¹⁹⁹

An anepigraphic dome in the *sahara*' (*Index* 106) is popularly attributed to Khadiga Umm al-Ashraf, the mother of Barsbay. It is dated on the basis of the decoration of its dome (Pl. 1) to between 835/1430 and 845/1440.²⁰⁰ However this attribution is unlikely on the grounds that the chronicles, which were normally attentive to family relations, do not mention the mother of al-Ashraf Barsbay.²⁰¹

The latest existing building from the reign of Barsbay is the dome of Nasr Allah (*Index* 88), though it is not exactly in the *sahara*' but closer to Bab al-Wazir, known also as Qubbat Kuz al-ʿAsal. It was built by al-Sahib Badr al-Din Hasan b. Nasr Allah in 841/1438. He was appointed to many high posts including *katib al-sirr* (confidential secretary), *nazir al-khass* (controller of the privy funds), *vizir*, majordomo, and *muhtasib* (market inspector). He died in 846/1441 in the reign of al-Zahir Gaqmaq at a very old age.²⁰²

Taqiy al-Din al-Maqrizi, the famous historian who was *muhtasib* of Cairo several times, died in 845/1441 and was buried at *turbat al-sufiyya* in the *sahara*'.²⁰³

Al-ʿAziz Yusuf b. Barsbay ruled for a few months in 842/1438 and was succeeded by al-Zahir Gaqmaq in the same year. During the long reign of Gaqmaq (842-57/1438-53) we know little of the building activities in the *sahara*'. Yashbak al-Suduni, *atabik al-ʿasakir*, died in 849/1445 and was buried in his unfinished tomb at the *sahara*'²⁰⁴ near the

¹⁹⁴Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 18, 186-87; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 164-65; Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 3, 452.

¹⁹⁵Yashbak, an older brother of Barsbay, came to Egypt in 830/1427, was appointed amir at forty and died 833/1430. See Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 18, 187; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 165; Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 3, 453; Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 10, 280; al-ʿAini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 2, 394.

¹⁹⁶Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masagid*, 225.

¹⁹⁷Fernandes, "Three Sufi Foundations," 146-47. The *qubba* is now known as Ma'bad al-Rifa'i (*Index* 108).

¹⁹⁸Darrag, *L'Acte de Waqf*, 49-50.

¹⁹⁹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 278-88.

²⁰⁰Creswell, *BIFAO*, 126-27.

²⁰¹Darrag, *Barsbay*, 418.

²⁰²Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 19, 185-86; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 494-95; *Manhal*, vol. 5, 141-44; Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 4, 131-32; al-ʿAini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 2, 587-88; Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 50.

²⁰³Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 490-91; *Manhal*, vol. 1, 415-20; al-ʿAini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 2, 574.

²⁰⁴Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 510-11; Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 10, 277-78; Popper, *Hawadith*, vol. 1, 142.

mausoleum of al-Ashraf Barsbay.²⁰⁵ This tomb could well be the anonymous mausoleum near the complex of al-Ashraf Barsbay popularly known as the mausoleum of al-Saba' Banat that still stands (*Index* 110, Pl. 2).²⁰⁶ The mausoleum has no inscription and has been dated to c. 854/1450 on stylistic grounds.²⁰⁷

Al-qadi 'Abd al-Basit b. Khalil of Syrian origin *nazir al-gaysh* (controller of the army) died in 854/1450 and was buried at his tomb in the *sahara* near the tombs of al-Ashraf Inal and Qurqumas.²⁰⁸ He served with all the sultans since al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh until he was arrested by al-Zahir Gaqmaq, then released and forced to retire. He collected a large fortune and built several eponymous buildings. He was a man of the world with little interest in learning or cultural pursuits.²⁰⁹

A mausoleum that was still standing inside the tomb of Taybugha al-Tawil until the 1970s is attributed to Abu al-Khayr Muhammad al-Sufi and dated 853/1449 by the foundation inscription. Muhammad al-Sufi was *wakil bayt al-mal* (in charge of the public treasury) under al-Zahir Gaqmaq.²¹⁰ It is the only building in the *sahara* with a definite dating in the reign of Gaqmaq that survived until the twentieth century, but was destroyed during the recent construction of a highway.²¹¹

The famous family of Ibn al-Gay'an was one of the leading families of 'ulama' in the 14th century that held high posts in the Mamluk administration reserved for *ahl al-qalam*, and had a family mausoleum near the complex of al-Ashraf Barsbay. We do not know exactly when it was founded, but one of their members, 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Gay'an, who was in charge of the treasury, died in 855/1451 and was buried in his family mausoleum.²¹² Other members of the family were buried later in the same mausoleum such as Shakir b. 'Abd al-Ghani b. al-Gay'an (d. 882/1477-8)²¹³ and his brother 'Abd al-Latif (d. 897/1492).²¹⁴

Khushqadam al-Rumi al-Yashbaki *muqaddam* (commander) of the royal *mamluks* and a freed slave of Yashbak al-Sha'bani, *atabik al-'asakir* under al-Nasir Farag, died when he was over seventy and was buried in his tomb in the *sahara* in 856/1452 near the tomb of his *ustaz* Yashbak al-Sha'bani.²¹⁵

From this information and from another statement by Ibn Taghribirdi concerning the hardships suffered by Khushqadam al-Rumi due to the tomb of his *ustaz*,²¹⁶ we can conclude that Yashbak al-Sha'bani, *atabik al-'asakir* under al-Nasir Farag, was also buried at his tomb at the *sahara*. Since Yashbak al-Sha'bani was killed in Ba'albak in 810/1407-8 by Nawuruz al-Hafizi,²¹⁷ and from the statement of Ibn Taghribirdi, we can assume that Khushqadam al-Rumi built this tomb for his *ustaz* and moved his body to it at a date not later than 856/1452.

Al-Ashraf Inal ruled from 857/1353 after a short reign of less than two months by Gaqmaq's son, al-Mansur 'Uthman. Inal was over seventy years old on ascending the sultanate, with long service behind him, and died at the age of eighty.²¹⁸ He was a just and a merciful ruler but illiterate and parsimonious. His reign (857-65/1453-60) was generally peaceful except for the troublesome newly-purchased royal *mamluks* known as *aglab*. The damages caused by the troublesome and disobedient *aglab*, which started in the days of Barsbay and Gaqmaq, had now become chronic and was an important element in destabilizing the Mamluk state.

As a prince and *atabik al-'asakir*, Inal had built a mausoleum for himself in the *sahara* dated 855/1451²¹⁹ near the tomb of Kukay. After becoming a sultan in 859/1455 he ordered the dismantling of its adjacent *qibla iwan* to "provide his madrasa with four *iwans* and the erection of a *khanqah*".²²⁰ The construction was completed and the *khanqah* inaugurated in 860/1456.²²¹ It is a large and magnificent complex that still stands (*Index* 183).

²⁰⁵Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 139.

²⁰⁶Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 2, 365-66.

²⁰⁷Creswell, *BIFAO*, 132-33.

²⁰⁸Mubarak, *Al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, vol. 5, 177; Guhari, *Inba' al-hasr*, 510.

²⁰⁹Popper, *History of Egypt*, vol. 19, 226-27; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 552-54; *Manhal*, vol 7, 136-47.

²¹⁰Van Berchem, *CIA*, vol. 1, 277.

²¹¹This information is obtained during a site visit to the mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil in April 1996 during an interview with the families living in the compound. According to them the *turba* has no trace now.

²¹²Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 359.

²¹³Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 3, 292.

²¹⁴*Ibid.*, vol.4, 329.

²¹⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 3, 174.

²¹⁶Popper, *Hawadith*, 149.

²¹⁷Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 10, 278-79

²¹⁸Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 157-59; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 2, 368-69.

²¹⁹Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 143.

²²⁰Ibn Taghribirdi, *Hawadith*, vol. 1, 471.

²²¹*Ibid.*, 525; Popper, *Hawadith*, 272; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 2, 333; Creswell, *BIFAO*, 134.

Girbash al-Karimi al-Zahiri (Barquq), *amir silah* of al-Ashraf Inal, died in 861/1456 after fifty years of service with many sultans and was buried in his tomb built in the *sahara* adjacent to the mausoleum of Inal.²²² He indulged himself with worldly pleasures but did not seek power.²²³

One of the greatest civil servants of the state from *ahl al-qalam*, al-Sahib Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Karim known as Ibn Katib Gakam *nazir al-gaysh wa'l-khass* (controller of the army and the privy funds) died in 862/1458 and was buried at his as yet unfinished tomb in the *sahara* in front of the tomb of al-Ashraf Inal²²⁴ and the tomb of Ibn Taghribirdi.²²⁵ The Caliph and the son of the sultan attended his funeral. He died after long service in the reigns of many sultans.²²⁶

Al-Qadi Muhammad b. 'Uthman known as Ibn al-Ashqar *shaykh al-shuyukh* of the *khanqah* at Siryaqus then *nazir al-gaysh*, and *katib al-sirr* died in 863/1459 and was buried at his tomb in the *sahara*.²²⁷

Amir Yunus al-'Ala'i al-Nasiri (Faraq) died of plague in 864/1460 at the age of seventy and was buried at his tomb in the *sahara*. He held no significant rank or post until the reign of Inal and became the first *amir akhur*.²²⁸

The still extant tomb (*Index* 124) known as the mausoleum of Barsbay al-Bagasi is undated. Numerous amirs bear this name and the chronicles are silent on which one of them sponsored this particular tomb. We only know that a tomb in the *sahara* is mentioned with this name.²²⁹ The earliest date attributed to this mausoleum is 860/1456 on stylistic grounds due to the similarity of the chevron decorations of the dome (Pl. 3) to that of the nearby dome of Inal.²³⁰

Unlike the sons of most Burgi Mamluk sultans when they ascended the sultanate, the son and successor of Inal, al-Mu'ayyad Ahmad, was thirty-eight years old and already *atabik* when his father died in 865/1460. The *mamluks* of previous sultans soon dethroned him in favor of a new sultan from their ranks, al-Zahir Khushqadam, who was not Circassian but a freed *mamluk* of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh.

His sultanate (865-72/1461-7) was peaceful, and the development of the *sahara* during his reign included his *turba* (mausoleum) near Qubbat al-Nasr in 866/1462 where many of his family members were buried.²³¹ It is the only royal building in the *sahara* to have perished. It must have been a complex with a madrasa as it is also referred to in the chronicles as the madrasa of al-Zahir Khushqadam.²³²

Several other mausoleums are also known to have been built at this period. They include those of Kuzul al-Suduni (d. 865/1461),²³³ Fairuz al-Tawashi al-Zamam (d. 865/1461),²³⁴ Yunus al-Aqba'i (d. 865/1461),²³⁵ and Kisbay al Nasiri (Faraq) (d. 870/1465).²³⁶

One of the most famous persons to be buried in the *sahara* is Gamal al-Din Yusuf b. Taghribirdi (d. 874/1470), the famous historian and the descendant of a Mamluk family. His father was *al-amir al-kabir* Taghribirdi *atabik al-'asakir* and viceroy of Damascus in the reign of al-Nasir Farag. In spite of his Turkish origin he was a master in Arabic language and history and was known for his reliability and integrity. In addition to being a man of learning, he was an accomplished equestrian and musician.²³⁷ He built a great tomb near that of al-Ashraf Inal and deposited in it his books and compilations.²³⁸

Qanim min Safr Khaga al-Mu'ayyadi (Shaykh) *atabik al-'asakir*, known as *al-tagir* (merchant), died suddenly at the age of seventy in 871/1466 and was buried in his tomb at the *sahara* near the mausoleum of al-Ashraf Inal.²³⁹ He was

²²²Misioriski, *Qurqumas*, 19, 60.

²²³Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 183-84.

²²⁴Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 10, 323.

²²⁵Guhari, *Inba' al-hasr*, 182.

²²⁶Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 862-63; Popper, *Hawadith*, 383-88.

²²⁷Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 204.

²²⁸*Ibid.*, 213.

²²⁹Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 4, 303, 306.

²³⁰Kessler, *Domes*, 27, pls. 30-31.

²³¹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 267; Popper, *Hawadith*, 422, 432, 436; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 2, 390.

²³²Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 307.

²³³A prince at ten in spite of his long service (he died at the age of ninety). He was a master lancer and a teacher of its art. See Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 312.

²³⁴A eunuch and *khazindar* (treasurer) was buried in his tomb in the *sahara*. He was very rich but a spendthrift. See Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 312.

²³⁵*Al-dawadar al-kabir* died after long sickness at the age of sixty and was buried in his tomb built at the *sahara*. See Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 313.

²³⁶Another middle ranking amir (*tablakhana*) under al-Zahir Khushqadam died at the age of seventy and was buried in a tomb he built for himself at the *sahara*. See Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 6, 228-29.

²³⁷Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 1, 16-17.

²³⁸Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 10, 305-308.

²³⁹Ibrahim, "al-Watha'iq," 449.

a *mamluk* merchant and became a *mamluk* himself of minor rank until his *khushdash* (belonging to the same *mamluk* household, i.e. the same master) Khushqadam promoted him to the post of *atabik*.²⁴⁰ The last mausoleum known to us to be dated to the reign of al-Zahir Khushqadam is that of Ganibak al-Nasiri (Farag) known as al-Murtadd (the apostate),²⁴¹ an amir of the highest rank who died after retirement of old age in 871/1466 and was buried at a tomb he built for himself in the *sahara*²⁴² near the mausoleum of al-Ashraf Inal.²⁴³

It seems that none of the buildings of the reign of Khushqadam survived, but the funerary character of the area persisted through the short reigns of al-Zahir Yalbay (872/1567-8) and al-Zahir Timurbugha (872-3/1468) until Qaytbay ascended to the sultanate. The latter's reign (873-901/1468-95) was long and prosperous. It was a period of revival and intensive building activity, the final outburst of energy in a dying dynasty.

Though several tombs in the *sahara* from the reign of al-Ashraf Qaytbay have vanished are known to us from the sources. Mughulbay Taz al-Mu'ayyadi, a high ranking amir, died in retirement, perhaps banishment, in Damietta and was moved to his tomb at the *sahara* in 873/1468.²⁴⁴ Qanim Taz al-Ashrafi, an amir of the first rank in Aleppo, died in captivity in southern Anatolia in 873/1468.²⁴⁵ We know from the *waqfiyya* of Qurqumas that Qanim Taz built for himself a mausoleum near the complex of Qurqumas, but it was not used for his burial.²⁴⁶ Ganibak min Tatak al-Zahiri (Gaqmaq) al-Faqih *amir silah* and *amir al-hajj* (commander of the pilgrims)²⁴⁷ died in exile at Jerusalem and was moved to his tomb built in the *sahara* near to the tomb of al-Zahir Khushqadam in 883/1478.²⁴⁸

Two of the great magnates of the Qaytbay's reign were also buried in the *sahara*. The first was Yashbak min Mahdi al-Dawadar, an avid builder who built a great mausoleum for himself at the northern part of the *sahara* near the *zawiya* of 'Ali Kuhnabush c. 885/1480.²⁴⁹ The other was Abu Bakr b. Muzhir, confidential secretary and descendant of a family of civil servants. He died in 893/1488²⁵⁰ and was buried at the tomb of his family next to the mosque of al-Ashraf Qaytbay, according to the latter's *waqfiyya*.²⁵¹

The many surviving buildings in the area, mostly superb royal works of art, are a legacy of the artistic revival and building activity of the Qaytbay's period. Soon after his ascension to the sultanate he started the work at his mausoleum in 877/1470²⁵² and finished it in 879/1472.²⁵³ The tomb was part of a madrasa (*Index* 99) with a *sabil* and *kuttab*. *Sufis* were appointed to the madrasa, since by this period, terms like madrasa and *khanqah* were used interchangeably. A *rab'* (living quarter, *Index* 104) was built near the madrasa as residence for the *sufis*. A *sahrig* (cistern) and *hawd* (drinking trough for animals) (*Index* 183) were also built in the same period.²⁵⁴ An undated closed *maq'ad* (*Index* 101) carrying the name of Qaytbay is considered to be part of the complex. A gateway bearing the *rank* (blazon) of Qaytbay (*Index* 93) seems to be part of an enclosure surrounding the madrasa and its dependencies.²⁵⁵

Al-Ashraf Qaytbay also built a *qubba* over the tomb of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi²⁵⁶ (*Index* 168) and another *sabil* nearby (*Index* 412).²⁵⁷ This dome (Pl. 4) with arabesque decoration on its exterior surface, is generally attributed to Qaytbay, although Kessler²⁵⁸ suggests a date between 797/1394-5, the date up to which the Cairene domes were still ribbed, and 844/1440, the date of the earliest other example of this arabesque pattern.

²⁴⁰Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 351; Popper, *Hawadith*, 593-95; Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 6, 201-202.

²⁴¹Ganibak al-Nasiri is known by this name as he returned to his country of origin in Circassia at the Caucuses after manumission by al-Nasir Farag, then finally came back to Egypt and joined again the Mamluk ranks. The rare and unusual return of a Mamluk to his pagan country of origin outside the *dar al-Islam* (Abode of Islam) is considered as an act of apostasy.

²⁴²Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 3, 60-61.

²⁴³Ibrahim, "al-Watha'iq," 449.

²⁴⁴Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 3, 20.

²⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 21.

²⁴⁶Al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*, 131.

²⁴⁷Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 3, 148.

²⁴⁸Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 3, 53-54.

²⁴⁹Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 3, 173; Beherens-Abouseif, "The North-Eastern Extension," 176. For a detailed biography of Yashbak min Mahdi see Ibn Aga, *Tarikh al-amir Yashbak min Mahdi al-Zahiri*, ed. 'Abd al-Qadir Ahmad Tulaimat (Cairo, 1973).

²⁵⁰Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 11, 88-89.

²⁵¹Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 19.

²⁵²Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 2, 45.

²⁵³*Ibid.*, 100.

²⁵⁴Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 6, 208.

²⁵⁵Creswell, *BIFAO*, 140.

²⁵⁶'Abd Allah al-Manufi (d. 749/1348), a theologian and ascetic, had also a tomb and *zawiya* adjacent to the mausoleum and madrasa of Qaytbay (*Index* 99).

²⁵⁷Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 6, 208; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 7, 90-91.

²⁵⁸Kessler, *Domes*, 27.

The dome of Gulshani (*Index* 100) with its pure arabesque decoration (Pl. 5) is attributed, on stylistic grounds, to Qaytbay.²⁵⁹ It has also been argued on historical grounds that this dome was built by Qaytbay when he was still an amir.²⁶⁰ Three other monuments in the area are attributed to the reign of Qaytbay: the façade of the tomb of Murad Bey (*Index* 95), the *takiyya* of Ahmad Abu Sayf (*Index* 111), and the *qubbat*, *iwan* and *sabil* of al-Zumur (Azdumar) (*Index* 90).

On the death of Qaytbay, his son al-Nasir Muhammad reigned for about three years (901-4/1495-8) before he was killed by the *mamluks* of his father as a usurper since by now the sultanate was not a right of birth, but a prize for the most able of the Mamluk oligarchy. In the struggle of power that ensued three Mamluk sultans reigned successively: al-Zahir Qansuh (904-5/1498-9), al-Ashraf Janbalat (905-6/1499-1501), and al-Adil Tumanbay (906/1501).

One royal foundation survives from this period, the mausoleum of Qansuh Abu Sa'id (*Index* 164, Pl. 21, 904/1499). It represents the northernmost extension of the *sahara*' and was built on land illegally confiscated from some notables.²⁶¹

Aqbirdi min 'Alibay, a great *dawadar*, died in Aleppo in 904/1499 but his body was transported to Cairo and was buried in his no longer extant tomb at the *sahara*'.

Al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghauri 905-22/1501-16 was the last great Mamluk sultan. He was an avid builder and extravagant in his attire, dwellings and life style. Faced by a severe economic crisis as a result of the transfer of the Eastern trade routes from Egypt after the discovery of the cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese and the circumnavigation of Africa, he resorted to all means to raise funds, including extortions, accepting bribes, selling of state posts, underweighting coinage and illegal expropriations of property. The funds were badly needed to finance the campaigns against the Portuguese, prepare the army for the inevitable encounter with the Ottomans, and finance his extravagant court and building program. Typical of his character, he built his magnificent funerary complex in the main artery of Cairo, on land confiscated illegally, rather than in the *sahara*'.²⁶²

An existing mausoleum from this period is attributed to amir Arzumuk (909/1504, *Index* 87) but the major construction project of the era in the *sahara*' was that of Qurqumas (*Index* 162, 911-13/1506-7). It consists of a mosque with *sabil-kuttab*, a mausoleum, a *qasr* (in this case a large hall used as a residence) overlooking the cemetery with latrines and bedrooms, with the foundation of dwellings for the staff and others on both sides of the road.²⁶³

Qubbat 'Asfur (*Index* 132), opposite the complex of Qurqumas, has very similar decorations on its outer dome and is dated to the same period 911-13/1506-7.²⁶⁴ Nothing is definitely known of the patron of this mausoleum or that of Ma'bad al-Rifa'i (*Index* 108, Pl. 6), datable to this period. The latter may have been part of the *zawiya* of Rifa'iyya built by Barsbay in the previous century.

The short but heroic reign of al-Ashraf Tumanbay (922/1516-17) brings the Mamluk sultanate to its tragic conclusion. The account of the urban growth of the *sahara*' under the Mamluks, woven into the fabric of the historical development of the state, thus comes to an end. It would be rash to claim that all the foundations in the *sahara*', whether surviving or not, have been listed, although it is probable that all of the major examples are covered. But the corpus of monuments and the related information outlined so far is ample for analysis and drawing conclusions on the geographical, topographical and social aspects of development of the *sahara*' in the coming chapters.

²⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 30; Creswell, *BIFAO*, 149-50.

²⁶⁰Shediac, *Qibla Orientation*, vol. 1, 52-54.

²⁶¹Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 3, 437.

²⁶²*Ibid.*, vol. 5, 87-93.

²⁶³Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 154-55.

²⁶⁴Creswell, *BIFAO*, 157.

CHAPTER 2

Topographical Study

I-The Boundaries and Name of the Area

THE SAHARA' is the area opposite the northern section of the eastern wall of Cairo (the section between Burg al-Zafar and Bab al-Barqiyya) up to the slopes of the Muqattam hill to the east. Its northern border extends beyond the north wall of Cairo as far as the existing mausoleum of Qansuh Abu Sa'id and the foot of *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*. The tombs of Bab al-Wazir form the southern limit of the area (Fig. 1).

The *sahara'*, as the name implies, is a stretch of desert separated from the eastern walls of Cairo by large man-made mounds ordered by the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim bi'Amr Allah to protect the walls of Cairo in case of rain floods originating from the Muqattam hill, known as *tilal al-Barqiyya* (Fig. 2).¹ Since their formation, these mounds represented a barrier to the *sahara'*. They appear on the earliest map we have of Cairo dated to the 10/16 th century.² The French expedition to Egypt (1798-1802) cleaned and levelled the surface of the mounds to use them as fortifications for control of the occupied city, taking advantage of their height and proximity to the city walls.³ Later on Muhammad 'Ali cleared the city environs in the north and west in the 1830's, but evidently he ignored the mounds on the eastern side since the desert area was less attractive for settlement.⁴ The task of clearing and partial settlement of the mounds was left to the Egyptian government during the 1960's.

The eastern borders are equally well defined by *gabal al-Muqattam* and *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*. It is in the north and south that the *sahara'* borders are more fluid and lack natural boundaries. To the north lies al-Raydaniyya and to the south the tombs of Bab al-Wazir, both of which may be considered as an extension to the *sahara'*.

Modern western scholarship usually calls the area the Northern Cemetery, apparently to differentiate it from the southern cemetery at the foot of al-Muqattam, better known as the lesser Qarafa. Creswell also calls the cemetery to the north of Bab al-Nasr in the Husayniyya, where Badr al-Jamali (d. 487/1094) is thought to be buried, the Northern Cemetery.⁵ In another context⁶, he equates the Northern Cemetery with the Tombs of the Caliphs, another common, but wrong, designation of the *sahara'*.

The first name of this area was *Maydan al-Qabaq* which became less common after al-Nasir Muhammad abandoned the game and tombs crept into the space of the *maydan*.⁷ Other names given to this place were *al-Maydan al-Aswad* (black),⁸ *Maydan al-'Id* (feast), *Maydan al-Akhdar* (green), and *Maydan al-Sibaq* (race).⁹

With the encroachment of tombs in the area it became a cemetery and the name changed to reflect its new function. Maqrizi lists seven cemeteries of Cairo and Fustat in his time and locates the *sahara'* at "the site known as *Maydan al-Qabaq* between *Qal'at al-Gabal* (the Citadel) and *Qubbat al-Nasr*".¹⁰ In almost all the primary sources quoted here, the

¹Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, vol. 1, 50.

²The map of Matheo Pagano, Venice, 1549 now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, show schematically mounds separating the northern wall from the built-up area of the *sahara'* behind. See Pl. A of J.-C. Garcin, B. Maury, J. Revault, M. Zakariya, *Palais Et Maisons Du Caire I-Epoque Mamelouke (XIII-XVI siècles)*, (Paris, 1982).

³Al-Jabarti, *Aga'ib al-athar*, vol. 3, 159.

⁴Abu Lughod, *The City Victorious*, 92.

⁵Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 1, 234.

⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 2, 7.

⁷Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 113.

⁸*Ibid.*, 111; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 7, 165.

⁹Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 111.

¹⁰The other cemeteries were the greater *qarafa* to the east of Fustat, the lesser *qarafa* at the foot of the Muqattam, the Fatimid caliph's cemetery inside Cairo known as Turbat al-Za'faran, one outside Bab Zwi'la between the mosque of al-Salih Tala'i and the Citadel, one outside Bab al-Nasr in Husayniyya, and one outside Cairo between Bab al-Futuh and *al-Khandaq*. See Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 442-3.

area was simply called the *sahara* or the *sahara' zahir al-Qahira* (the desert outside Cairo). All other earlier names were abandoned. The part of the *sahara* in front of Bab al-Barqiyya between the mounds and the main street of the *sahara* was called *turbat al-Rauda*, where the *khankah* of Umm Anuk (*Index* 81) now stands.¹¹

Ironically the *sahara* was never called *qarafa*, in spite of the fact that it was a cemetery, nor were the other four cemeteries mentioned by Maqrizi ever called *qarafa*. It is therefore probable that the word *qarafa* had not attained the generic meaning of cemetery that it has today. During this period *Qarafa* referred to the two specific cemeteries, *al-kubra* and *al-sughra* and was not "the usual term used in sources of that period when referring to a cemetery".¹²

The term *sahara* was mostly used in conjunction with an older landmark to designate a site, Qubbat al-Nasr and *Maydan al-Qabaq* being the most common for designation of sites at the northern part of the *sahara*. Other landmarks included Bab al-Barqiyya and Bab al-Mahruq, especially for designation of sites at the southern part of the *sahara*. When in close proximity use of the more recently built monuments for designation of a site at the *sahara* was not uncommon e.g. the *turbat al-sufiyya*, the tomb of Tashtamur, the *khankah* of al-Nasir Farag, the mosques of Barsbay and Inal, and the *zawiya* of Kuhnabush.¹³ This observation is extremely helpful in locating the sites of many of the vanished buildings relative to a known landmark and will enable us to propose schematic maps for the urban development of the *sahara*.

Later sources, such as al-Jabarti (d. 1241/1826), call the area *gabanat al-Bustan* (Cemetery of the Garden),¹⁴ no doubt because of presence of gardens or fields irrigated by the wells and water wheels that were abundant in the area and incorporated as a part of many foundations. The tombs of Qarasunqur, Nizam al-Din Adam (brother of Salar),¹⁵ the *khankah* of Ulghaybugha, the¹⁶ *khankah* of Tughaytamur al-Nigmi, and the *khankah* of Umm Anuk¹⁷ are all known to have included a water wheel. In a similar way, but most probably on a larger scale, the royal foundations such as that of Barsbay and Qaytbay had wells and water facilities.

Turbat or *bustan al-migawwarin* (tombs or garden of those living in the neighborhood) was a common designation used by al-Jabarti¹⁸ and 'Ali Mubarak¹⁹ (d. 1311/1893) and remains in use until the present. *Al-migawwir* denotes a person who lived in pious seclusion in the neighborhood of a holy place or a place of religious learning, such as al-Azhar, dedicated to the pursue of religious studies. The name, *Turbat* or *bustan al-migawwarin* is an indication that the area was a popular burial place among *al-migawwarin*, the 'ulama' of the period, mainly those studying at al-Azhar and living at its neighborhood.

Maqabir al-khulafa' (Tombs of the Caliphs) was a common name for the northern part of the *sahara* at the beginning of this century, appearing on the maps of the Survey of Egypt.²⁰ This name died out and was seldom used afterwards, for no Caliph is known to have been buried in the *sahara*.²¹ The middle part was commonly known as *sahara* Qaytbay and *gabanat Qaytbay* (Qaytbay's cemetery) after the name of the sultan responsible for most of the foundations in this middle part. The southern part still retains the older name of *turbat al-migawwarin*.²²

Modern Arabic scholarship rarely uses the designation of Northern Cemetery although *al-qarafa al-sharqiyya* (Eastern Cemetery)²³ is found occasionally. Ironically a rare name for the *sahara*²⁴ is the most appropriate, i.e. the tombs of the Mamluks. It was suggested by Hasan 'Abd al-Wahab and adopted by the Egyptian Antiquities Authority.²⁵

¹¹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 10, 11; Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, vol. 2, 243.

¹²Behrens-Abouseif, "The North-Eastern Extension," 169.

¹³See the remarks on the attached lists of Mamluk buildings in the Northern Cemetery (tables 1-4).

¹⁴Al-Jabarti, *Aga'ib al-athar*, vol. 3, 162.

¹⁵Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 464.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 421.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 425.

¹⁸This designation is mentioned numerous times in al-Jabarti's chronicle *Aga'ib al-athar*. The examples are too numerous to be listed, e.g. in part one of the chronicle it is mentioned in pages 73, 160, 166, 167, 176, 189, 264, 288, 312, 353, 367, 370, 371, 409, 409, 412, 415, and 416.

¹⁹Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, vol. 1, 50.

²⁰The official maps produced by The Survey of Egypt in 1930 at scale 1:1000 adopts this designation.

²¹None of the Mamluk sultans ever assumed the title of the Caliphs, *amir al-mu'minin* (Commander of the Faithful). After the death of al-Nasir Farag, the caliph al-Musta'in Billah assumed the sultanate for few months in 815/1412. Many of the 'Abbasid caliphs in Egypt were buried in a mausoleum next to the mausoleum of al-Saiyyda Nafisa in the Greater Cemetery known as the Mausoleum of the 'Abbasid Caliphs. See Creswell, *MAE*, 88-94.

²²The Map of Cairo showing the Mohamadan Monuments scale 1:5000 in two parts published by the Survey of Egypt in 1950, and the later map of the City of Cairo scale 1:5000 in two parts published by the Egyptian General Organization for Survey (formerly Survey of Egypt) in 1986 keep the last two designations.

²³'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masagid*, 225, 250.

²⁴Used systematically in: The Ministry of Waqfs, *Mosques of Egypt* (Cairo, 1949-54).

II-The Site of Qubbat al-Nasr

The Qubbat al-Nasr predates *Maydan al-Qabaq* and was located "outside Cairo in the desert under *al-Gabal al-Ahmar* at the end of *Maydan al-Qabaq* towards its north".²⁶ None of the contemporary sources gave more details on its location, as if to avoid stating of the obvious. Instead they used Qubbat al-Nasr as a landmark to define other lesser-known or newer buildings. We can conclude from the statement of Maqrizi that it was located somewhere northeast of the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag (Fig. 2). Doris Behrens-Abouseif suggests that it was built on elevated ground where the mausoleum of Qansuh Abu Sa'id (904/1499, *Index* 164) is located.²⁷ This proposal is highly unlikely, based on the evidence given by the contemporary historian Ibn Iyas. While counting the sins of Qansuh Abu Sa'id in his biography, he says:

Among (his sins) he inflicted injustice on a group of men and woman and forcibly acquired their properties and pulled them down because of the house he built on Birkat al-Fil (Lake of the Elephant) for his brother Qanim. He did the same thing with the mausoleum he founded at the *sahara*, with which he narrowed the street for the passers-by and blinded (*a'ma*) the mausoleums of the people nearby.²⁸

Thus Ibn Iyas does not mention what would have been the more serious offence of building his mausoleum on the confiscated site of a *zawiya*, such as Qubbat al-Nasr. It is true that Ibn Iyas never mentions Qubbat al-Nasr in his history,²⁹ instead mentioning the *zawiya* of 'Ali Kuhnabush three times as a landmark in the area.³⁰ We do not know exactly the date when Qubbat al-Nasr vanished, but it could not have been before Ibn Iyas was born in 852/1448,³¹ as Ibn Taghribirdi mentions Qubbat al-Nasr as late as the year 872/1467,³² when Ibn Iyas was almost twenty years old.

Qubbat al-Nasr must then be closer to *al-Gabal al-Ahmar* than to the mausoleum of Qansuh Abu Sa'id, as Behrens-Abouseif suggested. During the military conflict between Yalbugha al-'Umari and Taybugha al-Tawil at Qubbat al-Nasr, the former ambushed the latter at, as described by Maqrizi, "*lakhf al-gabal* near Qubbat al-Nasr".³³ The word *lakhf* is uncommon and means either a strong beating by a stick, or butter,³⁴ both of which are out of context here. Most probably there is a mistake in the transcription of the text for either *lahf al-gabal* from *lihaf*, a kind of bed cover, meaning in the cover of the mountain, or *khalf al-gabal*, behind the mountain.³⁵ If the ambush was planned in *al-Gabal al-Ahmar* to surprise an enemy at Qubbat al-Nasr, the distance between the two sites must have been short to preserve the element of surprise.

It would be highly speculative to fix an exact site for Qubbat al-Nasr based on the available information. It seems more likely to be located to the northeast of the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag near the foot of *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*. Such a site would be more in keeping with the description of Maqrizi and further the suggestion that it was on an elevated ground which allowed al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh once to use the site to watch over a horse race in 822/1419.³⁶

The term Qubbat al-Nasr was either confused with or used as a designation for Qubbat Yashbak min Mahdi by some late Mamluk historians, such as al-Guhari.³⁷ Al-Jabarti, writing at the end of 18th century early 19th century, mentions Qubbat al-Nasr as Qubbat Bab al-Nasr, but more often as Qubbat al-'Azab. He cites it as "Qubbat al-Nasr known as Qubbat al-'Azab in the district of al-'Adiliyya".³⁸ Since by then Qubbat al-Nasr did not exist, he must have meant another dome, most probably that of Yashbak min Mahdi known as al-Qubba al-Fadawiyya in the north of al-Husayniyya (*Index* 5).³⁹

²⁵ 'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masagid*, 250; "Khanqaht Farag," 303.

²⁶ Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 433.

²⁷ Behrens-Abouseif, *Topography*, 14; "The North-Eastern Extension," 163.

²⁸ Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 3, 437.

²⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, "The North-Eastern Extension," 163; also see Schimmel, *Indices* which has no entry on Qubbat al-Nasr.

³⁰ Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 3, 78, 173, 177.

³¹ Brinner, "Ibn Iyas," 812.

³² Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 356.

³³ Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 116.

³⁴ *Lisan al-'arab*, vol. 11 (Boulak, 1301 H.), 226-7.

³⁵ Such mistakes of adding a dot or transversing the position of two letters are common among medieval scribes.

³⁶ Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 4, 504; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 88.

³⁷ Guhari, *Inba' al-hisar*, 68.

³⁸ Al-Jabarti, *Aga'ib al-athar*, vol. 3, 33.

³⁹ Behrens-Abouseif, "The North-Eastern Extension," 181.

III-Main arteries and street pattern

The scarcity of land in the city proper must have pushed the private citizens, Mamluk amirs and later the sultans to seek space outside the walls of Cairo to the east in the *sahara'* to built their tombs. The area must have been lonely and desolate, which is perhaps why it lured these people "far from the eyes of the living world, and from the tumult of the Citadel, the seat of their power, as though to keep the noises of life from troubling their last sleep".⁴⁰ Figure 4 shows the main artery and approaches to this new area as discussed in this section.

The shortest and the most frequently used route to Qubbat al-Nasr and the north of Cairo from the Citadel, without passing through the crowded streets of Cairo, was through the *sahara'* between the mounds parallel to the east wall of Cairo and the Muqattam hill with its extension *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*. The alternative route was an arduous climb of the hills and the descent to Qubbat al-Nasr from *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*. The latter route was only used in emergency and was known as *tariq al-gabal* (the mountain road).⁴¹ The main approach to the area was a road coming down from the *naqra* (pass) to which one descends from the Citadel⁴² via *shari' bab al-wazir* (Fig. 7). This was a steep descent indeed, as described by a late 15th century traveller's account.⁴³ The site of the pass is further clarified by Maqrizi when he talks of the mosque of Mangak al-Yusufi (*Index* 138, 751/1350) overlooking the road leading to *shari' bab al-wazir*

The location of this mosque is known at the *thaghra* (pass) under the Citadel of the Mountain (*Qal'at al-Gabal*) outside Bab al-Wazir.⁴⁴

A second approach comes from Bab al-Barqiyya where a passage cuts across the mounds to the street passing between the *khanqah* of Tughay (Umm Anuk, *Index* 81) and the mausoleum of Princess Tulbay (*Index* 80). This approach is established topographically by the portal of the latter mausoleum that is aligned with this street, while the *khanqah* of Tughay occupies the intersection between this approach and the other one coming from Bab al-Wazir and is aligned with both directions. The sources indicate that Bab al-Barqiyya was open and the approach in use until the early 19th century. It was blocked by the French in their effort to blockade Cairo in 1214/1799 and forced those who had cemeteries at *bustan al-migawwarin* (the southern end of the *sahara'*) to take the longer route via Bab al-Nasr (the other northern approach).⁴⁵

The third approach to the *sahara'* is a street parallel to the north wall of Cairo coming from Bab al-Nasr passing by Burg al-Zafar to the area in front of *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag (*Index* 149). It was customary for the Mamluk sultans, even before urbanization of the *sahara'* to go down from the Citadel, most likely via the Bab al-Wazir approach, through the *sahara'*, and turn into this northern approach to re-enter Cairo via Bab al-Nasr and cut through *al-shari' al-a'zam* (the main street) in ceremonial procession to celebrate the ascension to the sultanate or on other occasions (Fig. 3).⁴⁶ The inhabitants of Cairo and Husayniyya conveniently used this approach to the *sahara'* for convenience.

The three main approaches identified are dictated by the topography of the terrain, and by accessibility and nearness to the populated area of the city. The population of the south of Cairo and the Citadel used the southern approach, those living in the middle sector of Cairo used the approach from Bab al-Barqiyya and Bab al-Mahruq, while the inhabitants of northern Cairo and Husayniyya used the northern approach. We must remember that the slow means of transport of the time restricted the allowable distances to places intended for relatively short visits, such as a cemetery.

Having established the main approaches to the area as shown in Figure 4, we proceed to trace the main artery which must be that formed by the confluence of the two southern approaches of Bab al-Wazir and Bab al-Barqiyya near the *khanqah* of Tughay. The road proceeded north for a short distance then turned right (east) towards the mausoleum of Tashtamur (*Index* 92) which was built on the main road.⁴⁷ After a short distance, it again turned left (north) near the gate of Qaytbay. The almost perfect alignment of the façades of the major buildings decisively fixes the route from the gate of Qaytbay (*Index* 93, Pl. 7) up to the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag with minor twists. A perfectly straight street is

⁴⁰Wiet, *Cairo the City of Art*, 136.

⁴¹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 11, 176.

⁴²Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 111.

⁴³Wiet, *Cairo the City of Art*, 136.

⁴⁴Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 320. The word *thaghra* meaning an opening between two barriers, is now used by Maqrizi instead of the earlier *naqra*, a hole used earlier by him. The former is more correct, and *naqra* could be *thaghra* in the original but transcribed wrongly due to the similarity of the Arabic spelling of those two words. Fortunately both spellings lead to the same meaning.

⁴⁵Al-Jabarti, *Aga ib al-athar*, vol. 3, 154.

⁴⁶An early example was cited before see Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 7, 41. But this practice persisted throughout the Mamluk sultanate.

⁴⁷Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464.

unusual in medieval Egypt in general and Cairo in particular, although in the less densely settled *sahara* it was much more common than within the city. In the next section the ground plans and façade orientation of some of the major foundations will be investigated in relation to the main street and the approaches to the area.

After the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag the road then proceeded north again, most probably in a roughly straight line, to al-Raydaniyya, passing the area occupied later on by the mausoleum of Qansuh Abu Sa'id built on the main road.⁴⁸ The northeastern façade of the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag is reasonably aligned with the southeastern façade of the mausoleum of Qansuh Abu Sa'id to support our argument. Qubbat al-Nasr then, according to our proposed site, could not have been on the main road, but must have been on a side road. The silence of the sources supports this argument, since no source mentions that Qubbat al-Nasr was on any of the main routes. In the same way we can conclude that when al-Ashraf Inal built his mausoleum as an amir in 855/1451, it was on a side street parallel to the main road. When he became a sultan and the mausoleum was turned into a large complex, a deviation in the road must have been created to pass beside the complex.

The sources are also silent on the name of this much frequented road, just referring to it and the area as *sahara*. Perhaps it is a reversed example of the tendency of Arab historians to designate the whole by the name of a part,⁴⁹ whence there was no need to give a name for the road.

Medieval Cairo had more than one *qibla* direction. Maqrizi lists four;⁵⁰ the *qibla al-sahaba* (companions of the Prophet) who came to Egypt and set the *qibla* at the direction of the rising sun of the midwinter set at 117°, the *qibla* direction calculated by the astronomers of his time set at 127°, the *qibla* of the mosque of Ibn Tulun mentioned as 14° south of that of the astronomers (i.e. at 141°), and due south which was used in the Qarafa and some villages.⁵¹ The western wall of Cairo was built alongside *al-khalig al-misri* which is straight at this stretch, likewise the eastern wall is parallel to the *khalig*. Incidentally the direction of the *khalig* at this point is roughly 27°, i.e. the *qibla al-sahaba* was perpendicular to it, as well as to the *qasaba*. The Mamluks, like the Fatimids, favored the use of the *qibla* calculated by the astronomers to the *qibla al-sahaba* and therefore, all the religious foundations along the *qasaba* were set askew.

It was mentioned above that the façades of most of the foundations on the main street of the *sahara* are in almost perfect alignment with the *qibla* of the astronomers,⁵² a phenomenon common in Cairene religious architecture within the city. The ingenuity and pain taken by the Cairene architects to align the façade with the main street without violating the *qibla* direction in the interior is well known in Cairene architecture and will not be elaborated. To reconcile the need for keeping a correct *qibla* direction in the religious foundations with the façade perpendicular to this direction on the one hand, while keeping the façade aligned with the main road on the other hand, it was necessary to set the direction of main road in the *sahara* at 37°, i.e. perpendicular to the *qibla* direction⁵³ (Fig. 4). The need to set the buildings askew, as in the *qasaba*, was now deliberately dispensed with.⁵⁴

One of the striking features of the old city of Cairo is that it preserved its main arteries and thoroughfares with little change until the present. Likewise, the approaches and the main artery in the *sahara* established by the 8th/14th century are still the same, with minor variations.

IV-Phases of urban growth

Any attempt to draw a detailed plan of the area is necessarily incomplete. However careful examination of the orientation of the existing buildings in the area, the description of the plots in the neighborhood of the buildings given by available *waqfiyyas* and the contemporary sources may allow us to see how the side streets emerged and will enable us to draw rough maps for the successive stages of its development.

The urban growth of the area was gradual and can be divided into four distinct phases: A) Bahri Mamluks (648-784/1250-1382), B) al-Zahir Barquq to the accession of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay (784-825/1382-1422), C) al-Ashraf Barsbay to the accession of Qaytbay (825-873/1422-1468), D) al-Ashraf Qaytbay to the end of the Mamluk sultanate in Egypt (873-922/1468-1517).

⁴⁸As we can deduct from the complaints of Ibn Iyas cited earlier. See Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 3, 437.

⁴⁹Beherens-Abouseif, "The North-Eastern Extension," 170.

⁵⁰King, "Architecture and Astronomy," 114.

⁵¹The actual *qibla* direction in Cairo is 135°.

⁵²Set at 127°.

⁵³King, "Architecture and Astronomy," 118.

⁵⁴Examination of plans of the existing foundations in the appendices show that the *qibla* direction is mostly set between 124° to 129° which is the *qibla* of the astronomers with marginal error. The exceptions are the mausoleum of Ibn Ghurab (*Index* 94, Figure 5) set at 138° and the mausoleum of Khadiga Umm al-Ashraf (*Index* 106, Figure 6) set at 113°.

A) The Bahri Mamluk Phase (648-784/1250-1382).

During the period before al-Nasir Muhammad, the *sahara* was mostly a *maydan* used for different military and ceremonial purposes and was not considered as part of the urban fabric of Cairo. The first attempt to urbanize the *sahara* occurred during the third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad. Table 1 shows the buildings attributed to this period. They include twenty-nine, including *Maydan al-Qabaq*, all of which have disappeared except the four that were listed earlier. The relatively fewer number of buildings attributed to this period, compared to the later Burgi Mamluk, is not in line with the general trend of building activities in Cairo under the Mamluks. Sources indicate that 443 new constructions were identified during the Bahri Mamluk period in Cairo compared to 270 new constructions attributed to the Burgi period.⁵⁵ Evidently there was still little need in the Bahri period for expansion in the direction of the *sahara*.

The approximate location of the buildings of that period, showing their distribution around the main artery and approaches to the area established earlier, is shown in Figure 8. The key is the topographical hints given in the sources on the sites of the vanished buildings relative to one of the four existing buildings, or to one of the other known landmarks of the area such as Qubbat al-Nasr, Bab al-Mahruq and Bab al-Barqiyya. We have no *waqfiyya* from that period for buildings in the area to give more topographical details.

The site of *Maydan al-Qabaq* is one of the first problems facing us. If we take Maqrizi's description literally it would extend from "the pass to which one descends from *qal'at al-gabal* (Citadel of the Hill) and Qubbat al-Nasr that is under *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*"⁵⁶ i.e. from the Citadel to *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*, a distance more than 3km in length and approximately 750m in width. This area is too large for a *maydan*, if compared with the others known to us, such as the *maydan* under the Citadel. We also know that the area now occupied by the mosque of al-Zahir Baybars was previously a hippodrome that was moved to *Maydan al-Qabaq* to give space for the new mosque. Both of these examples are on a much smaller scale.

At the end of the section on *Maydan al-Qabaq*, Maqrizi mentions that remains of racing columns were still standing at his time at the site of the mausoleum of Yunus al-Dawadar (*Index* 157), to the north of the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag, and that they were demolished to give way for the mausoleum.⁵⁷ A more reasonable location for *Maydan al-Qabaq* would set its southern boundary at the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag and the northern boundary to the south of Qubbat al-Nasr. The western and eastern boundaries are set topographically by the elevated area on both sides; the Barqiyya mounds and *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*. This gives an area of approximately 500mx500m as shown in Figure 8.⁵⁸

The mausoleum of Qarasunqur (711/1311-12) was the first building to be constructed at the *sahara* in *Maydan al-Qabaq*⁵⁹ after it was deserted. Other princes and the notables of Husayniyya followed suit, including the *sufis* of *al-khanqah al-salahiyya li sa'id al-su'ada*. The *turbat al-sufiyya* was next to the mausoleum of Qarasunqur and had an area of two acres.⁶⁰ Assuming a square shape, it would have measured roughly 90m x 90m. It was located near the mausoleum of Kukai, which itself was built near the still standing mausoleum of al-Ashraf Inal.⁶¹ Other monuments in this northern locus of the *sahara* mentioned by Maqrizi include the mausoleums of Nizam al-Din brother of Salar, Mas'ud b. Khatir, Magd al-Sallami, Sayf al-Din Kukai and Tagar al-Dawdar. The *Khanqah* of Ulghaybugha al-Muzaffari is located here between Qubbat al-Nasr and the tomb of 'Uthman b. al-Gaushan, in front of Bab al-Nasr.⁶² None of the buildings at the northern locus survived.

A southern locus was also established around the approaches of Bab al-Wazir and Bab al-Barqiyya, including the four surviving monuments of the area. In addition this southern part included several buildings that perished, such as the mausoleums of Aqsunqur al-Rumi, Muhsin al-Baha', Tashtamur Tulliyya, Arnan al-Nasiri, Taz al-Nasiri, Yalbugha al-'Umari, Mamaq al-Mangaki and several others, as well as the *khanqah* of Tughaytamur al-Nigmi.

⁵⁵ Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*, vol. 2, VII.

⁵⁶ Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 111.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁵⁸ A term paper without date titled "The History of Maidan Qabac and An Attempt To Specify Its Position After Maqrizi" by M. Nabih deposited at the students papers box at the Rare Book Library of the AUC discusses the same topic with insight. Its conclusion, based on the literal meaning of Maqrizi's statements, fixes the area of *Maydan al-Qabaq* on all the area we now call the Northern Cemetery including the Cemetery of Bab al-Wazir.

⁵⁹ Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464; *Suluk*, vol. 3, 540.

⁶⁰ Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464. Ibn Taghribirdi, however does not say that *turbat al-sufiyya* was in the *sahara* as he normally designates the area. He sites this *turba* at *kharig* (outside) *bab al-nasr* twice (*Nugum*, vol. 10, 336; vol. 13, 39) and *kharig al-qahira* (*Nugum*, vol. 14, 180) without further elaboration. I am inclined to accept the site suggested by Maqrizi since it is mentioned within the context of deliberate topographical description of the *sahara*, while ibn Taghribirdi's designation is a passing remark in his usual obituaries.

⁶¹ Guhari, *Inba' al-hasr*, 452.

⁶² Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 7, 425.

Thus the buildings of this period are spread over two loci: the northern, near to Qubbat al-Nasr and *Maydan al-Qabaq* that mostly represent the earlier period and the southern, in front of Bab al-Barqiyya and Bab al-Mahruq. The area inbetween the two parts was empty. Table 1 includes all the buildings attributed to this period (none of which is a royal foundation) and includes the topographical remarks indicating their approximate site, as shown in Figure 8.⁶³

B) Early Burgi Mamluk (784-825/1382-1422).

Nothing remains of the *khanqah* of Yunus al-Dawadar, the earliest building of this phase, except the mausoleum (*Index* 157) where Anas, the father of al-Zahir Barquq, was buried to the north of the *khanqah* al-Nasir Farag (*Index* 149). The latter *khanqah* is the largest building in the area and was predated by a burial court (*hawsh*) built next to the mausoleum of Anas by Qagmas al-Salihi, the cousin of al-Zahir Barquq. Several venerated *sufis* were buried in this *hawsh* during the reign of al-Zahir Barquq, a factor that made him assign this spot to be his final resting place.⁶⁴ Qagmas also built a mausoleum for himself in the same area⁶⁵ as well other amirs such as Hasan al-Kugkuni.⁶⁶

The *khanqah* of Farag is free standing and symmetrical, due to the availability of space in the area. It has two portals and two minarets indicating its location on a cross road, as it was the custom to build the monument's portals and minarets facing main roads. The southwestern façade and minaret face those coming from the main road from the Citadel and those coming from the approach of Bab al-Nasr. The northwestern portal and minaret faced those heading south on the northern section of the main road. The entrance to the nearby Anas mausoleum also faces this direction. The *khanqah* plan and façade orientation conforms to the street plan proposed for the area.

The building activity during this period followed the same trend as the earlier phase. Mausoleums were scattered around the northern and southern loci as before. Sudun al-Fakhri built a *zawiya* for 'Ali Kuhnabush near Qubbat al-Nasr and *al-Gabal al-Ahmar* and he built a mausoleum for himself in the *sahara* as well.⁶⁷ His own mausoleum was near that of the now existing mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil.⁶⁸ The mausoleum of Alansh al-Sha'bani was also near Qubbat al-Nasr. Other mausoleums, such as those of Kumushbugha al-Hamawi, Aqbay min Husayn Shah and Kafur al-Sarghitmishi were identified at the southern locus (Fig. 9).

Several mausoleums are known to have been built at this period in the *sahara* but no topographical information of even their approximate site is known. The mausoleums of Mankalibugha Qaraga, Gamal al-Din al-Ustadar, Qugaguk al-Zahiri, Aqbugha al-Qadidi, Ibn Mu'tasim al-'Agami, and 'Abd al-Ghani b. Abu al-Farag all belong to this group.

During this period of almost forty years twenty-two new buildings are known to have been erected (table 2), only four of which still standing. These four are equally spread on the two loci; the Anas mausoleum and *khanqah* of Farag at the northern end, while the mausoleums of Kazal al-Nasiri (*Index* 89) and Ibn Ghurab (*Index* 94) were located at the southern part. It is important to note that throughout this period (and up to the reign of Sultan Barsbay) building activity remained polarized in location. The area south of the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag (between the northern and southern loci) remained an empty space. It was used as a hippodrome for the Mamluks to practice war games.⁶⁹

The only attempt at secular development of the *sahara* was initiated by al-Nasir Farag and was ephemeral indeed. The donkey and camel markets moved there by the sultan went back to their original place under the Citadel and the bath house and flour mill were deserted soon after al-Nasir Farag's death, shortly after they were finished. They were located in front of his *khanqah* and must have been a first attempt to urbanize the empty space between the two built areas.⁷⁰ The task of filling in the gap between the two built areas of the *sahara* was left to al-Ashraf Barsbay.

C) The Middle Burgi Period (825-73/1422-68).

The empty area in front of the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag was acquired by al-Ashraf Barsbay for his large construction projects in the middle section of the *sahara*. It again began with a burial court and a mausoleum for a favorite amir, Ganibak al-Ashrafi (*Index* 106). The area was not yet established however, and the earliest non-royal monument of the period, that of Yashbak al-Saqi, was erected at the previously popular site near the mausoleum of Tashtamur Hummus Akhdar. At least thirty-five new buildings are attributed to this period of forty-six years (table 3), with only eight monuments of this period still standing (Fig. 10).

⁶³With the exception of the existing buildings, sites and sizes marked on the maps are very loose approximation based on the topographical remarks in the sources.

⁶⁴Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464.

⁶⁵Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 10, 302.

⁶⁶Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 2, 26.

⁶⁷Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 4, 544; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 160; Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 6, 62.

⁶⁸Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 420.

⁶⁹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 185-6.

⁷⁰Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464.

Table 1
Mamluk Buildings in the Northern Cemetery
Bahri Mamluks (648-784/1250-1382)

No	Ref.	Name	PATRONAGE	TYPE/FUNCTION	DATE	TOPOGRAPHICAL REMARKS
1	M-4/123	<i>Maydan al-Qabaq</i>	Royal	Hippodrome	666/1267	Between the hole from the citadel and Qubbat al-Nasr (<i>al-Gabal al-Ahmar</i>).
2		‘Uthman B. Gaushan	‘ <i>ulama</i> ’	Mausoleum	707/1307	Outside Bab al-Nasr.
3	M-9C/16	Qarasunqur	Princely	Mausoleum, mosque, <i>sabil</i> .	711/1311-12	Near Qubbat al-Nasr.
4		Nizam al-Din Adam (brother of Salar)	Princely	Mausoleum, mosque, <i>sabil</i> .	Q1-8/14 C	Near Qarasunqur.
5		<i>turbat al-sufiyya</i>	Princely	Mausoleum	Q1-8/14 C	Outside Bab al-Nasr near Inal.
6	I-92	Tashtamur al-Saqi (Hummus Akhdar)	Princely	Mausoleum	735/1334	On the main road, existing.
7	M-9C/418	Khatir al-Rumi	Princely	Mausoleum	741/1342	Near <i>turbat al-sufiyya</i> .
8		Tagar al-Dawadar	Princely	Mausoleum	742/1342	At the top of <i>Maydan al-Qabaq</i> in front of Qubbat al-Nasr.
9		Al-Magd al-Sallami	Merchant	Mausoleum	743/1342	Outside Bab al-Nasr near <i>turbat al-sufiyya</i> .
10	M-16/3	Qumari Amir Shikar	Princely	Mausoleum	743/1342	
11	M-9C/229	Aqsunqur al-Rumi	Princely	Mausoleum	748/1347-8	Near Bab al-Mahruq.
12		Muhsin al-Baha’	<i>Tawashi</i> *	Mausoleum		Near Tashtamur al-Saqi.
13	M-18/14	Tughaitamur al-Nigmai	Princely	<i>hanqah</i> , <i>hamam</i> Mausoleum, <i>sabil</i> , garden.	748/1347	In front of Bab al-Mahruq.
14		Tashtamur Tulliyya	Princely	Mausoleum	749/1348	Near Tashtamur al-Saqi.
15	I-81	Khwand Tughay (Umm Anuk)	Princely	<i>khanqah</i>	749/1348	Existing.
16		Kukai al-Silahdar	Princely	Mausoleum	749/1348	Near <i>turbat al-sufiyya</i> and Inal.
17		‘Abd Allah al-Manufi	‘ <i>ulama</i> ’	<i>zawiyya</i> , Mausoleum	749/1348	Near the madrasa and mausoleum of Qaytbay.
18	M-19A/21	Ulghaibugha al-Muzaffari	Princely	<i>khanqah</i> , <i>sabil</i> , <i>kuttab</i>	750/1349	Between Qubbat al-Nasr and ‘Uthman Gaushan outside Bab al-Nasr near <i>turbat al-sufiyya</i> .
19		Mankalibugha al-Fakhri	Princely	Mausoleum	753/1352	Contiguous with the madrasa of Qaytbay and next to mausoleum of Ibn Ghurab. Its remains are still extant.
20		Mas‘ud B. Khatir	Princely	Mausoleum with minaret	754/1353	Near <i>turbat al-sufiyya</i> .
21	M-20/19	Taz al-Nasiri	Princely	Mausoleum	754/1353	Outside Bab al-Mahruq.

Table 1 (Continued)

No	Ref.	Name	PATRONAGE	TYPE/FUNCTION	DATE	TOPOGRAPHICAL REMARKS
22		Arnan al-Nasiri	Princely	Mausoleum	755/1354	Near Tashtamur al Saqi.
23	I-80	Princess Tulbay	Princely	Mausoleum/gate	765/1363-64	Existing.
24	M-21/11	Yalbugha al-'Umari	Princely	Mausoleum	768/1366	Near Umm Anuk.
25	I-372	Taybugha al-Tawil	Princely	Mausoleum	768/1366	Existing.
26		'Ali B. Yahia B. Fadlallah	'ulama'	Mausoleum	769/1367	Near the complex of Qurqumas.
27	M-23/15	Mamaq al-Mangaki	Princely	Mausoleum	781/1379	Near Bab al-Mahruq.
28		Sirag al-Din al-Hindi	'ulama'	Mausoleum	782/1380	Near Bab al-Mahruq.

I= Index of the *Survey of Egypt*.

M= Mienecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur*.

**Tawashi* is a designation for castrated slaves mainly, but not necessarily, black usually in charge of the *harim*, household affairs, and the novice Mamluks (*aglab*) training and upkeep in the barracks (*tabaq*).

Table 2

**Mamluk Buildings in the Northern Cemetery
Early Burgi Mamluks (784-825/1382-1422)**

No	Ref.	NAME	PATRONAGE	TYPE/FUNCTION	DATE	TOPOGRAPHICAL REMARKS
29	I-157	Yunus al-Dawadar (Anas)	Princely / royal	Mausoleum / <i>khanqah</i>	783-4/1382	Existing.
30		Muwafiq al-Din Ahmad al-Hanbali	' <i>ulama</i> '	Mausoleum	785/1383	Near the mausoleum of Kukai and Qubbat al-Nasr.
31	M-25A/37	Qajmas al-Salihi	Princely	Mausoleum / burial court (<i>hawsh</i>)	790/1388	Near <i>khanqah</i> of Farag.
32	M-25A/46	Sudun al-Fakhri	Princely	Mausoleum	798/1396	Near the mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil.
33	M-25B/45	'Ali Kuhnabush	<i>Sufi</i>	<i>zawiyya</i>	798/1396	Near Qubbat al-Nasr.
34		Tanibik al-Yahiaui	Princely	Mausoleum	800/1400	Near Taybugha al-Tawil.
35		Hasan al-Kugkuni	Princely	Mausoleum	801/1399	Opposite of <i>hawsh</i> of Barquq.
36	M-25B/45	Kumushbugha al-Hamawi	Princely	Mausoleum	801/1399	In front of al-Bab al-Mahruq.
37		Faris al-Qutlugawi	Princely	Mausoleum	801/1399	
38		Mankalibugha Qarag	Princely	Mausoleum	801/1399	
39		Baggas al-Nawruzi	Princely	Mausoleum	803/1400	Near the complexes of Inal and Qurqumas.
40	I-149	Al-Nasir Farag	Royal	Complex	803-13 / 1400-11	Existing.
41	I-89	Kazal al-Nasiri	Princely	Mausoleum	805/1403	Existing.
42		Qutlubik al-'Ala'i	Princely	Mausoleum	806/1403	
43	I-94	Sa'd al-Din B. Ghurab	' <i>ulama</i> '	Mausoleum	Before 808/1405	Existing.
44		Alansh al-Sha'bani	Princely	Mausoleum	809/1406	Near al-Nasir Farag and Qubbat al-Nasr.
45		Aqbay min Husayn Shah	Princely	Mausoleum	812/1409	In front of Bab al-Barqiyya (Turbat al-Ruda).
46	M-26B/36	Gamal al-Din al-Ustadar	' <i>ulama</i> '	Mausoleum	812/1409	
47		Qujajuk al-Zahiri	Princely	Mausoleum	813/1410	Near Qurqumas.
48	M-26B/52	Aqbugha al-Qadidi	Princely	Mausoleum	814/1411	
49		Ibn Mu'tasim al-'Agami	Princely	Mausoleum	816/1413	
50		'Abd al-Ghani B. Abi al-Farag	' <i>ulama</i> '	Mausoleum	821/1418	
51	M-30/3	Kafur al-Sarghitmishi	<i>Tawashi</i>	<i>Khanqah</i>	824/1421	Near Tashtamur.
52		Mahmud al-Aqsarawi	' <i>ulama</i> '	Mausoleum	b. 824/1432	

The *waqfiyya* of al-Ashraf Barsbay defines precisely the limits and the area adjacent to his foundations in the *sahara*' as is customary in such legal documents:

Included in this all the madrasa located at the *sahara*' outside Bab al-Nasr adjacent to the known *turba* founded by the above mentioned *waqif* (the person establishing the trust fund or *waqf*). Its limits: (from) the south to the *hawsh* (burial court) running in the *waqf* of the *waqif* referred to, from the north to the road, from the east to the above mentioned *hawsh*, and from the west to the place separating this (madrasa) from the *turba* founded by him.⁷¹

These were the limits of the madrasa/*khanqah* of Barsbay which did not change until the present, although most of the *khanqah* has disappeared. The mausoleum was built on the main road, unlike most other mausoleums in the *sahara*'.⁷² The *waqfiyya* carries on to define the limits of the vanished *zawiya* on the other side of the road:

Included in this the whole of the *zawiya* located in the *sahara*' in front of the above mentioned madrasa with the well, water wheel, and (water) trough in it. Its limits are: the inhabited road on the south, the emptiness of the desert on the north, as well as the eastern and western (limits).⁷³

The *zawiya* was built on the main road and surrounded by desert on all sides, another indication that the middle section of the *sahara*' was an empty space until the reign of Barsbay. The still standing dome of Ma'bad al-Rifa'i (*Index* 108) opposite the madrasa of Barsbay could very well be the dome mentioned in the same *waqfiyya* and its dating should be corrected to 1432/33.⁷⁴

The economic conditions in the period between the death of Barsbay (842/1438) and the accession of Qaytbay (873/1468) were critical indeed. The growing economic weakness is attributed to many factors, chief among them were the plagues that hit Egypt repeatedly during this period inflicting severe losses on the Mamluks and agrarian work force. The resulting reduction in land revenue and the need for funds to procure new *mamluks*, the lifeline of the state, strained the economy already weakened by the decline of the revenues of the transit spice trade and the political unrest resulting from the continuous conflicts among the elite ruling Mamluks and the new Mamluks (*aglab*). Of the eight sultans who reigned during this thirty year period, only two of them built foundations in the *sahara*', al-Ashraf Inal (d. 865/1460) and al-Zahir Khushqadam (d. 872/1467),⁷⁵ and only the former's foundation survived.

The complex of al-Ashraf Inal is on the fringe of the area, not on the main road, as the mausoleum was started when he was still a prince. When he became a sultan at an old age and was entitled to a site in the heart of the *sahara*' he seems to have preferred to stick to the old site and expand his mausoleum into a complex rather than making a new foundation, no doubt for economic reasons. The main street was diverted to pass by the new complex. It is even claimed that the complex of Inal, which was not extravagant, was not only supervised by al-Gamali Yusuf *nazir al-khass* (supervisor of the privy funds) of Inal but also financed out of his private purse.⁷⁶ Another legacy of the worsening economic conditions of the period is that most of the buildings disappeared, including the royal foundation of al-Zahir Khushqadam,⁷⁷ most probably due to their poor construction or insufficient funds for maintenance.⁷⁸

The burial court of the Hanbali masters, known as *turbat al-hanabila*, where the '*ulama*' belonging to the Hanbali school of jurisprudence were buried is attributed to this period. We have no specific date for its construction, but the

⁷¹Darrag, *L'Acte de Waqf*, 51.

⁷²Fernandes, *khanqah*, 228.

⁷³Darrag, *L'Acte de Waqf*, 51.

⁷⁴Behrens-Abouseif, "Four Domes", 199-200.

⁷⁵Al-'Aziz Yusuf Ibn Barsbay (842/1438) died in 862/1458 in Alexandria; al-Zahir Gaqmaq (842-857/1438-53) died in 857/1453 and was buried at the tomb of his brother Jarkis al-Qasimi under the wall of the Citadel; al-Mansur 'Uthman Ibn Gaqmaq 857/1453 died in Damietta in Muharram 892/1489 and was buried at the tomb of his father; al-Mu'ayyad Ahmed Ibn Inal (865/1460-1) died in 873/1468 in Alexandria and was buried at the mausoleum of his father; al-Zahir Yalbay (872/1467-8) died in Alexandria in 873/1468; and al-Zahir Timurbugha (872-3/1468) died in 879/1474-5 in Damietta.

⁷⁶Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 2, 331.

⁷⁷Royal funerary and religious foundations of the Mamluk sultans were normally protected by rich endowments to guarantee their maintenance and upkeep. They rarely vanish except when pulled down.

⁷⁸Only six monuments survive out of the twenty-three buildings attributed to this period of thirty years between 842/1438 and 873/1468.

Table 3

Mamluk Buildings in the Northern Cemetery
The middle Burgi period (825-873/1422-1468)

No	Ref.	NAME	PATRONAGE	TYPE/FUNCTION	DATE	LOCATION/REMARKS
53	M-33/24	Al-Ashraf Barsbay	royal	<i>Hawsh</i>	829/1427	Next to the madrasa of Barsbay.
54	I-106	Ganibak al-Ashrafī	royal	Mausoleum	831/1428	Existing.
55	M-33/46	Yashbak al-Saqi	princely	Mausoleum	831/1428	Near Tashtamur.
56		Muhammad B. Muzhir	' <i>ulama</i> '	Mausoleum	832/1429	Contiguous to madrasa of Qaytbay.
57	M-33/58	Yaqut al-Arghunshawi	<i>tawashi</i>	Mausoleum	833/1430	
58		Arunbugha	princely	Mausoleum	b. 834/1431	Near Barsbay's complex.
59	I-121	Al-Ashraf Barsbay	royal	Mausoleums, <i>khanqah</i> , madrasa	835/1432	Existing.
60		Al-Ashraf Barsbay	royal	<i>zawiyya</i> , well, water wheel	835/1432	On the other side of the street from Barsbay's madrasa.
61	I-108	Ma'bad al-Rifa'i	royal	<i>Zawiyya</i>	c. 835/1432	Existing.
62	I-106	Khadiga Umm al-Ashraf	royal	Mausoleum	835-45/1430-40	Existing.
63	I-88	Nasr Allah (Kuz al-'Asal)	' <i>ulama</i> '	Mausoleum	841/11438	Existing.
64		Hasan al-'Agami	' <i>ulama</i> '	<i>Zawiyya</i>	b. 842/1438	Near the <i>khanqah</i> of Farag.
65	I-373	Abu al-Khayr al-Sufi	' <i>ulama</i> '	Mausoleum	853/1449	Existing.

Table 3
(continued)

No	Ref.	NAME	PATRONAGE	TYPE/FUNCTION	DATE	LOCATION/REMARKS
66	I-110	Yashbak al-Suduni - Qubbat al-Saba' Banat.	princely	Mausoleum	c. 854 / 1450.	Existing.
67	M-35/63	'Abd al-Basit B. Khalil	'ulama'	Mausoleum	854/1450	Near Inal and Qurqumas.
68		'Abd al-Rahman B. al-Gay'an	'ulama'	Mausoleum	855/1460	Near complex of al-Ashraf Barsbay.
69	I-158	Al-Ashraf Inal	royal	<i>khanqah</i> / mausoleum	855-60 / 1451-56	Existing.
70	M-35/77	Khushqadam al-Rumi	<i>tawashi</i>	Mausoleum	856/1452	
71	M-35/26	Yashbak al-Sha bani	Princely	Mausoleum	856/1452	Near to Khushqadam al-Rumi.
72	I-124	Barsbay al-Bagasi	Princely	Mausoleum	c. 860/1456	Existing.
73	M-37/14	Girbash al-Karimi	Princely	Mausoleum	861/1456	In front of Inal
74	M-37/20	Yusuf B. Abd al-Karim B. Katib Gakim	'ulama'	Mausoleum	862/1458	In front of Inal and of Ibn Taghribirdi.
75		Muhammad B. 'Uthman	'ulama'	Mausoleum	863/1459	
76	M-37/26	Yunus al-'Ala'i	princely	mausoleum	864/1460	
77		Kuzul al-Suduni	princely	mausoleum	865/1461	
78		Fairuz al-Zamam	<i>tawashi</i>	mausoleum	865/1461	
79	M-39/2	Yunus al-Aqba'i	princely	mausoleum	865/1461	
80	M-39/7	Al-Zahir Khushqadam	royal	madrassa / mausoleum	866/1462	Near Qubbat al-Nasr.
81		Kisbay al-Nasiri	princely	mausoleum	870/1465	
82	M 39/29	Yusuf B. Taghribirdi	'ulama'	mausoleum	870/1466	Near the mausoleum of Inal.
83	M-39/31	Qanim al-Tagir	princely	mausoleum	871/1466	Near the mausoleum of Inal.
84		Ganibak al-Nasiri	princely	mausoleum	871/1466	Near the mausoleum of Inal.
85		<i>turbat al-handabila</i>	'ulama'	<i>hawush</i>	before 876	Near Inal and Kukai.

sources⁷⁹ mention it on the occasion of burial of a Ḥanbali notable in 876/1471-2 and state that it predates this occasion. The site is described as being in front of the madrasa of Kukai near the mausoleum of Inal. In the absence of other evidence, an attribution to this period when the site had become fashionable is not unreasonable.⁸⁰

D) Late Burgi period (873-922/1468-1517)

The site chosen by Qaytbay for his construction projects in the middle sector of the *sahara* presents a reverse in the direction of growth and the trend of locations of royal foundations. Whilst the two royal foundations in the area built after al-Ashraf Barsbay were located on the northern fringes of the area,⁸¹ no doubt due to availability of space, Qaytbay decided to locate his funerary complex at the heart of the *sahara* in its middle sector (Fig. 11). Several motives may have induced this choice. It seems that Qaytbay built his complex according to a pre-conceived scheme to urbanize the area on the scale attempted by his predecessors, al-Nasir Farag and the more complete project of al-Ashraf Barsbay. It was the third project in this century of large scale urbanization around a nucleus of a *sufi* establishment.

The *waqfiyya* of al-Ashraf Qaytbay⁸² gives a detailed description of the different parts of the foundation and its neighboring buildings. In addition to the mosque⁸³ and its attached mausoleum, it describes many other parts including a *sabil* underneath a *kuttab*, another *sabil* with a water reservoir, a kitchen, stable, open court at the back of the mosque, *maq'ad* (loggia) with store rooms on its ground floor, water wheel, living quarters, a two-*iwan* madrasa, and tombs. A full community of *sufis* could be maintained in this area, perhaps within a separate enclosure as indicated by the nearby gate of Qaytbay (*Index* 93).

The surrounding area described in the *waqfiyya* was congested with buildings on all sides, except the southern (actually southeastern) limit which was an empty space overlooking the main street that separated the mosque from living quarters for the *sufis* (Fig. 12).⁸⁴ According to the *waqfiyya*, the façade of the *qibla iwan*, the southern windows of the mausoleum, the southern façade of the *sabil-kuttab*, and some of the windows of the *ṭabaq* (meaning here the so-called *rab'* of Qaytbay) with its arched portal faced the main road. The northern limit (facing the northwestern façade of the mosque, the open court, the loggia, the other *sabil* and back rooms of the *rab'*) was surrounded by the tombs of Ibn Muzhir, the confidential secretary, the *zawiya* of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi, and a thoroughfare. The eastern limit (northeastern) facing the main entrance to the mosque, the other façade of the *sabil kuttab*, some mosque windows and the drinking trough of the other *sabil*, was surrounded by the tomb of Ibn Muzhir and the thoroughfare. The western limit (southwestern) was surrounded by the tombs of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi, Mankalibugha al-Fakhri, other tombs for lesser known notables and the thoroughfare.

The decision of Qaytbay to build his funerary foundation in this congested area and to part from the tradition of his predecessors must have been influenced by two reasons. First, was the desire to be buried near a venerated *sufi* such as 'Abd Allah al-Manufi, for whom he built a domed mausoleum (*Index* 168). This dome is not exactly in the location cited in his *waqfiyya*, which perhaps referred to a no longer extant *zawiya*. Secondly, this site better served his attempt to urbanise the *sahara* with its central location and proximity to the main road. Qaytbay had to compromise on the size of the individual units of his foundations and the symmetry of its plan since more space would have been available only at remote areas that would not serve his urbanization scheme.

One of the other striking features of the Qaytbay period is that most of the constructions known to us were sponsored by him personally (table 4). The only exceptions were the mausoleums of Yashbak min Mahdi, Ibn Muzhir, and Ganibak min Tatakh, who represented the elite of the military and civil administration of the Qaytbay era. Availability of land, at this late period of the development of the *sahara*, could have been the reason for the scarcity of non-royal new buildings. Nevertheless, the use of the *sahara* as a burial place in existing tombs, especially among the 'ulama', in *turbat al-sufiyya* remained as popular as before.⁸⁵

By the end of the reign of Qaytbay the topographical features of the *sahara* attained their final shape. The voids were filled; even Qansuh Abu Sai'd was criticized by his contemporaries for confiscating private property to build his

⁷⁹Guhari, *Inba' al-hasr*, 345.

⁸⁰A mausoleum belonging to al-Qadi Muafiq al-Din Ahmad al-Hanbali and his family dated 785/1383 (table 2) was discussed earlier in the same area and may be the origin of this burial court.

⁸¹These are the foundations of al-Ashraf Inal (855-860/1451-1456) and al-Zahir Khushqadam (866/1462). Afterwards, Qansuh Abu Sa'id built a mausoleum in the same area in 904/1499.

⁸²*Huggat waqf al-Ashraf Qaitbay*, 12-38; Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 4-20.

⁸³This is the designation given in the *waqfiyya*. See Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 5, 60, 61. In spite of this clear statement, the inscriptions on the main entrance and on several other places designate the building as madrasa. See Van Berchem, *CIA*, vol. 1, 431, 433.

⁸⁴*Huggat waqf al-Ashraf Qaitbay*, 37; Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 19. The quarters described which were finished after the mosque was completed, no longer exist and should not be confused with *rab'* of Qaitbay (*Index* 104).

⁸⁵Guhari, *Inba' al-hasr*, 83, 97, 276, 297, 311, 312, 344

Table 4

Mamluk Buildings in the Northern Cemetery
Late Burgi period (873-922/1468-1516-17)

No	Ref.	NAME	PATRONAGE	TYPE/FUNCTION	DATE	TOPOGRAPHICAL REMARKS
86	M-42/6	Mulghai Taz	Princely	Mausoleum	873/1468	
87		Qanim Taz	Princely	Mausoleum	873/1468	Near Qurqumas.
88	I-99	Al-Ashraf Qaytbay	Royal	madrasa / Mausoleum	877-79 / 1470-72	Existing.
89	I-104	Al-Ashraf Qaytbay	Royal	<i>Rab'</i> (living quarters)	c.879/1474	Existing.
90	I-183	Al-Ashraf Qaytbay	Royal	<i>hawd</i> (drinking trough).	879/1474	Existing.
91	I-101	Al-Ashraf Qaytbay	Royal	<i>Maq'ad</i> (loggia)	879/1474	Existing.
92	I-93	Al-Ashraf Qaytbay	Royal	Gateway	c.879/1474	Existing.
93	I-168	'Abd Allah al-Manufi	Royal	Mausoleum	c.879/1474	Existing.
94	I-412	Al-Ashraf Qaytbay	Royal	<i>Sabil</i>	879/1474	Existing.
95	I-100	Al-Gulshani	Royal	Mausoleum	c.879/1474	Existing.
96	I-95	Murad Bey	Royal	Facade of mausoleum	c.879/1474	Existing.
97		al-Ashraf Qaytbay	Royal	Residential quarters for the sufis	after 879/1474	On the other side of the street in front of the mausoleum of Qaytbay.
98	M-42/95	Ganibak min Tatakh	Princely	Mausoleum	883/1478	Near the madrasa of al-Zahir Khushqadam.
99		Yashbak min Mahdi	Princely	Mausoleum	885/1480	Near <i>zawiyya</i> of 'Ali Kuhnabush.
100	I-111	Ahmad Abu Saif	'ulama'	<i>Takiyya</i>	Q4 9/15 C	Existing.
101	I-90	Azdumur (al-Zumur)	Princely	Mausoleum, <i>iwan</i> , <i>sabil</i>	end 9/15 C	Existing.
102	I-164	Qansuh Abu Sa'id	Royal	Mausoleum	904-1499	Existing.
103	M-43/1	Aqbardi min 'Alibai	Princely	Mausoleum	904/1499	
104	I-87	Azrumuk	Princely	Mausoleum	909/11504	Existing.
105	I-162	Qurqumas min Walii al-Din	Princely	mausoleum, <i>khanqah</i> , <i>qasr</i> (dwellings), <i>sabil</i> , <i>kuttab</i> .	911-12/1506-7	Existing.
106	I-132	Qubbat 'Asfur	Unknown	Mausoleum	c 912/1506	Existing.

own mausoleum and for encroaching on the main road.⁸⁶ Al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghuri, faced with the problem of land shortage, opted perhaps for the least of two evils and built his funerary complex along the Qasaba, the main artery of Cairo, on land illegally confiscated from one of his functionaries.⁸⁷ The alternative was confiscating land in the more holy area of the *sahara* where many of the buildings were protected by endowment deeds inviolable in theory, if not in practice.

The last major construction project in the area was the complex of Qurqumas (*Index* 162, 911-12/1506-7) consisting of a mausoleum, *khanqah*, *qasr*, (residential apartments), *sabil-kuttab*, and apartments on the other side of the road. One must ask how the land was secured, and what this area was previously used for. To answer such a question we have to look at the endowment deeds of this foundation and at that of the complex of al-Ashraf Inal. The latter's extant *waqfiyya* seem to have been misplaced in recent years and cannot be consulted.⁸⁸ It is possible, however to determine the surroundings of the complex of Qurqumas from his *waqfiyya*⁸⁹ and consequently, the surroundings of the adjacent complex of Inal.

According to the *waqfiyya*⁹⁰ the *qibla* (southeastern) façade of Qurqumas was laid along the main street with living quarters on the other side of the street. The opposite façade, the northern according to the *waqfiyya* (northwestern), was contiguous with the tombs of 'Abd al-Basit b. Khalil, and al-Qadi Fadlallah.⁹¹ The eastern boundary (northeastern) was the complex of Inal and the passage leading to the living quarters whose door is adjoining the mausoleum of Girbash. The western boundary (southwestern) was the street, no doubt a side street leading to the mausoleums just mentioned.

In other words, the complex occupied the space that separated the complex of Inal from the mausoleums of a group of notables that already existed prior to Qurqumas from the middle Burgi period (Fig. 13). Another arrangement of the surroundings, based on reading excerpts of the no longer available *waqfiyya* of Inal and the *waqfiyya* of a surgeon called Abi Zakariyya Yahiyya,⁹² is also proposed⁹³ as shown in Figure 14. It is an expanded version of the arrangement proposed here, based on examination of the *waqfiyya* of Qurqumas.⁹⁴

The *qibla* and the southwestern façades overlooked the main and a side street. It was a throwback to the middle Burgi period when it was fashionable to build in the northern locus of the *sahara*. The motive could be again scarcity of space or, more probably, a deliberate choice to amalgamate with the complex of Inal for visual impact. The beholder would see two graceful minarets flanked by two intricately decorated domes, reminiscent of the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag.⁹⁵

⁸⁶Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 3, 437.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 5, 87-93.

⁸⁸Tovell, *Khanqah of Sultan Inal*, ii, 62, 68.

⁸⁹Misioriski, *Qurqumas*, 19, 60.

⁹⁰*Huggat waqf al-amir Qurqumas*, 50-51.

⁹¹It is a name of family of *uluma* officials which served during the 8/14th century in Cairo and Damascus as mentioned above. For more details on the members of the family see Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 10, 316.

⁹²Ibrahim, "Al-Watha'iq," 265.

⁹³Tovell, *Khanqah of Sultan Inal*, 64-65.

⁹⁴I was not able to find a biography or other information in the sources consulted to identify Sudun, Ibn al-Dahan and Arghun mentioned in the *waqfiyya* of Inal or the date of foundation of the tombs, therefore their mausoleums were not included in the tables.

⁹⁵'Abd al-Wahab, "Khanqaht Farag," 303.

CHAPTER 3

Patronage and Typology of the Buildings

I-Patronage

LITERATURE, arts and architecture in medieval Islamic lands were largely dependent on individual patrons and private commissions rather than on state efforts, though in many cases the dividing lines between the state treasury and the private purse of the ruler were indistinguishable. The Mamluk state in Egypt was no exception to this rule and was characterized by its wide social base of architectural patronage. Since patronage reflected the social structure of the society, especially the rich elite, Mamluk architecture became an expression of the needs and values of its rich patrons. It has been argued that the architect's role in the Mamluk society was technical and supervisory, the patrons not only defining function but also size, plan and construction. The patron "lent to a building its expressive intent, while the architect worked out the precise rendering of this intent within an agreed-upon style".¹

Understanding the structure of Mamluk society thus becomes crucial to understanding its architecture. Thorough analysis of Mamluk institutions or the socio-economic aspects of its society is beyond the scope of this study, hence we shall focus here on the elements of this society in Cairo that played a role in the development of the *sahara*'. When writing on the social structure of Cairene society under the Mamluks in the 9th/15th century Maqrizi listed seven classes: the *mamluks* of all ranks or people of the state, rich merchants, middle class traders, peasants, jurists (*fuqaha*') including students, craftsmen and the poverty-stricken.² Such a division is insufficient for us as it neglects to mention as a separate class the '*ulama*', the group normally referred to as *ahl al-qalam*, which ran a substantial part of the Mamluk administration and the entire juridical apparatus. Other contemporaries, such as Ibn Khaldun, divided the society into rulers and those being ruled in an obvious allusion to the Mamluks and the remaining subjects of the realm.³

We will slightly depart from these traditional divisions and focus on the classes that contributed to the history of the *sahara*'; the Mamluks, the *ahl al-qalam*, the rich merchants and lastly, institutional patronage of religious foundations such as the *khanqah* of Sa'id al-Su'ada' and the masters of the Hanbali school of religious law. Other classes that played a role in the Mamluk sultanate, but did not contribute to the *sahara*', such as the Bedouins and other tribal groups, will not be discussed at all.⁴

Lack of financial resources excluded the common people from any possible patronage or building activity in the area. Moreover we do not know much about their living conditions, mainly due to lack of interest on the part of medieval historians in their lot. For instance, Ibn Taghribirdi confesses within the context of a narrative that he abstains from telling the story of a certain individual since he was not a notable.⁵ The *sufis*, no doubt mostly belonging to the common people, are considered in a sense indirect patrons of the *sahara*' by virtue of their activities and the motivation they created for the more affluent of their followers to urbanize the *sahara*'. *Sufis* and related religious activities in the *sahara*' are discussed in the following chapter.

The Caliphs, though by no means unprivileged and nominally the supreme rulers, had neither temporal power nor wealth.⁶ Like the common people, they contributed nothing in architectural patronage in the *sahara*' although some

¹ Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent," 78-79.

² Ashur, *al-Mughtama' al-masri*, 10.

³ *Ibid.*, 11; Popper, *Notes*, vol. 2, 2.

⁴ For a fuller discussion of those classes see Poliak, *Feudalism*, 9-15; Ayalon, *Abode of War*, VII 13-37.

⁵ Ashur, *al-Mughtama' al-masri*, 8.

⁶ Popper, *Notes*, vol. 1, 83.

members of the 'Abbasid family are known to have had a burial court (*hawsh*) for themselves and their children in the *sahara*'.⁷

A) The Mamluks

The Mamluks constituted the ruling class composed of the sultan with his natural family and Mamluk household,⁸ amirs of different ranks⁹ who also owned *mamluks*,¹⁰ rank and file soldiers,¹¹ second generation *mamluks* normally bearing a Muslim name (*awlad al-nas*),¹² and a dependent group of eunuchs, mostly castrated black or white males, mainly in the private service of the Mamluk class called *tawashiyya* or *khadims*.¹³

One of the main features of the Mamluk system is that it was not hereditary but was a one generation society where the highest echelons of power were reserved for those who started as slaves and non-Muslims to the exclusion of their off-spring. In theory this guaranteed the equal opportunity for all who belonged to the system. In practice those belonging to the sultan household were more privileged; the Circassian race was favored over the other *mamluk* races during the later part of the sultanate.¹⁴

Another striking feature is that the Mamluks as a class were in complete isolation from the rest of the people; they dressed differently, and mostly spoke Turkish.¹⁵ Despite this, there is no known Turkish inscription in all the Mamluk monuments in Egypt, even in the case of inscriptions with no religious context. Another aspect of their social exclusion is that they mainly married slave girls coming from their countries of origin or daughters of other Mamluks.¹⁶ The Mamluk class had other privileges as well, for example owning a *mamluk* was their own prerogative.¹⁷

The institution of *waqf* (charitable trust funds) played a crucial role in Mamluk society and was a decisive factor contributing to the multiplicity of Mamluk foundations and their upkeep. Mixed motives must have induced this compelling urge for construction of the Mamluks of Egypt; piety was one, but more worldly pursuits are not to be discounted. There is no doubt that the *raison d'être* of many construction projects was to channel funds into *waqfs*. In a society marked by its meteoric turns of fortune, where people were under constant threat of expropriation and exile and where heritage of fortune or position was never guaranteed, the *waqf* institution proliferated. It played a dual role as a charitable act and a shelter of wealth. It was a means to provide the protection of the *shari'a* against arbitrary confiscation, and to transmit wealth and income to one's own family and descendants. Theoretically granted in perpetuity, a *waqf* was modified in many instances and could be sold (*bai'*), substituted (*istibdal*), reassigned (*intiqa*), or transferred (*tamlik*).¹⁸ The *waqf* supervisor (*nazir*) normally came from the family of the founder to ensure the control over its affairs and in many cases the family received a certain allocation from the funds' revenue.¹⁹ Often the revenues much exceeded the expenses, thus ensuring a steady income to the descendants of the founder.²⁰

⁷Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 85.

⁸The corps of Mamluks purchased (*mushtarawat*) by a reigning sultan (*al-mamalik al-sultaniyya*) who are in his service either as slaves or manumitted but did not attain the rank of amir are considered as his Mamluk household. Their numbers ranged from 2,000 to 10,000 depending on the sultan's wealth and length of his reign. See Popper, *Notes*, vol. 1, 87-88; Ayalon, *Abode of War*, II 17-18.

⁹They were appointed and promoted by the sultan who also assigned their fiefs. They fell into four ranks; the highest was *amir mi'a muqaddam alf* (prince of one hundred *mamluks* and commander of thousand). They numbered twenty-four and monopolized the high offices of the state assigned to men of the sword, as well as governorship of the main provinces; the second was *amir tablkhana* (amir with drums) commanding forty Mamluks, normally numbering forty; the third was *amir 'ashara* (ten) and usually numbered fifty; the fourth and lowest rank is *amir khamisa* (five), normally numbering thirty. See Popper, *Notes*, vol. 1, 85-86.

¹⁰The amirs owned *mamluks* in their turn and some had full retinues like the sultans to the extent that Qalqashindi called them *sultan mukhtasar* (small scale sultans). See Qalqashindi, *Subh*, vol. 4, 61-62.

¹¹Novices (*aglab*) on manumission become ordinary soldiers; in that way all of them had an equal start. See Ayalon, "Mamluk," 318; *Abode of War*, V 1-8.

¹²They composed the bulk of *agnad al halaqa* (troops of the circle) or the reservists. They numbered 24,000 but many of them were engaged in other civilian or scholarly activities. See Popper, *Notes*, vol. 1, 88-89.

¹³They constituted the personnel that administered the military and religious training of the novice Mamluks (*aglab*) in the barracks (*tibaq*). They formed a hierarchy but were inferior in rank to the Mamluks. The highest rank they could attain was *amir tablakhana*, a rank reserved only to their chief. Eunuchs were also in charge of the *harim* and other household assignments related to the court ladies for obvious reasons. See Ayalon, "Mamluk," 317-18.

¹⁴Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 6, 396.

¹⁵Ayalon, *Abode of War*, II 17; Petry, *The Civilian Elite*, 70.

¹⁶Ayalon, *Abode of War*, II 16; Ashur, *al-Mugtama' al-masri*, 23.

¹⁷Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 92; Ayalon, *Abode of War*, II 17.

¹⁸Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?*, 196.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 196-97.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 199.

Mamluk patronage in the *sahara* was varied. A study of the Bahri Mamluk buildings in the area shown in table 1, with the exception of *Maydan al-Qabaq*, reveals that the patrons of the overwhelming majority of buildings belonged to the amirs. In the early period, up to the reign of al-Nasir Hasan (748-52/1347-51 and 755-62/1354-61), those patrons held mainly minor ranks. It was customary for an amir to be buried on his death at the tomb of his *ustaz* (master) or at the tomb of the *ustaz* of his *ustaz*. For example Taghribirdi al-Baklamishi died in 846/1442-3 and was buried at the tomb of Taybugha al-Tawil in the *sahara*, as the latter was the *ustaz* of Baklamishi, the *ustaz* of this Taghribirdi.²¹ None of the favored amirs of al-Nasir Muhammad or the great amirs of his father were buried in the area; the only exception was Tashtamur al-Saqi (Hummus Akhdar).

No royal buildings in the *sahara* are known from the Bahri period. The reign of al-Nasir Hasan however, was the turning point in the ascendancy of the *sahara* as the favorite burial area for the magnates of the state that culminated in its transformation to the focus of royal patronage under the Burgi Mamluks. Several of the major amirs of al-Nasir Hasan, such as Tashtamur Tulliyya (d. 749/1349), Taz al-Nasiri (d. 754/1353), Yalbugha al-ʿUmari (d. 768/1366) and his *khushdash* Taybugha al-Tawil (d. 768/1366), all favored the area with their patronage. It may not have been a coincidence, though the sources do not mention it, that al-Zahir Barquq, himself a *mamluk* of Yalbugha al-ʿUmari, favored this area when he became sultan.

Al-Zahir Barquq extended the earliest royal patronage to the *sahara* and set a pattern to be followed by many of his Burgi successors, especially al-Ashraf Barsbay and al-Ashraf Qaytbay. Between them they sponsored seventeen monuments out of the twenty-two royal foundations known to us in the *sahara*. Buildings with royal patronage represented almost half of the foundations known to us dating from the middle and late Burgi period (825-922/1422-1517). Likewise many high ranking amirs of the time built in the area. At least five foundations are attributed to eunuchs.²²

Women played an important role in Mamluk society and were treated with dignity and appreciation especially among the Mamluk elite.²³ They were given the special titles of *khwand*, reserved for the wives of the sultans (sometimes the sultan himself was also called *khwand*) and *khatun*, originally meaning a princess, then used as a title of respect for any lady.²⁴ The Mamluk chancery had a special format reserved for addressing the ladies of Egyptian and foreign courts.²⁵ Contemporary chronicles are full of information about women and the influence they exerted, primarily in the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad²⁶ and his sons,²⁷ and other aspects of their life, details of which are outside the scope of this study. It is sufficient here to mention that the most important biographical dictionary of the 9th/15th century devoted a complete volume to women with more than one thousand entries.²⁸

The role played by women as patrons of arts and architecture in Mamluk Cairo in general, and the *sahara* in particular, is what concerns us here. Surprisingly the number of surviving monuments by women patrons does not reflect the crucial role they apparently played in the life of the sultanate. Out of the hundred surviving monuments listed in the Survey of Egypt during the Bahari period 648/784-1250/1382, only six had a woman patron,²⁹ and out of the one hundred thirty-three surviving monuments of the Burgi period 784/923-1382/1517, another five definitely had a woman patron.³⁰ There seems to be no large scale construction project patronized by a woman;³¹ Mamluk Cairo had no equivalent to Gauhar Shad in Iran.³²

²¹Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 49.

²²These are Muhsin al-Baha' in the Bahari period, Kafur al-Sarghatmishi (d. 824/1421), Yaqt al-Arghunshawi (d. 833/1433), Khushqadam al-Rumi (d. 856/1452) and Fairuz al-Zamam (d. 865/1461).

²³Ashur, *al-Mugtama' al-masri*, 128-9.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 129.

²⁵Qalqashindi, *Subh*, vol. 7, 182-84, 314.

²⁶Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 184-196.

²⁷Since many of the sons and grandsons of al-Nasir Muhammad reigned when they were young or even still in infancy, it was natural that the mothers would play a crucial role in the affairs of the state. The same also applied to mothers of the interim reign of the sons of the deceased sultans that characterized the Burgi Mamluk period.

²⁸Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 12.

²⁹These are the minaret and tomb of Fatima Khatun (Umm al-Salih) (682-83/1283-84, *Index* 274), the mosque of Sitt Hadaq (Miska) (740/1339-40, *Index* 252), the mausoleum and mosque of Tatar al-Higaziyya (748/1348 and 761/1360, *Index* 36), the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban (770/1368-69, *Index* 125), the mausoleum and remains of *khanqah* of Khwand Tughay (Umm Anuk) (before 749/1348, *Index* 81) and the portal and mausoleum of Khwand Tulbay (765/1363-64, *Index* 80).

³⁰These are the mausoleum of Khadiga Umm al-Ashraf (about 835-45/1430-40, *Index* 106), the ribat of the Wife of Sultan Inal (Khwand Zaynab) (about 860/1456, *Index* 61), the mosque of Bardbak (Umm al-Ghulam) (about 865/1460, *Index* 25), the mosque of Mar'a (Fatima Shaqra) (873/1468-69, *Index* 195) and the façade of Fatima Umm Khwand (2nd half of 9/15C, *Index* 58).

³¹Except the madrasa of Umm al-Sultan Sha'ban (*Index* 125).

³²O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture*, 82.

The *shari'a* poses no legal restrictions on the rights of women to hold and dispose of property, nor to establish *waqfs*. The deeds (*watha'iq*) preserved at the National Archives of Egypt (*dar al-watha'iq al-qaumiyya*) give another picture of the scope of female patronage. The number of deeds in the group of *al-mahkama al-shar'iyya* is two hundred and ninety-six, almost all of them from the Mamluk period. Out of this group at least twenty-eight record *waqfs* established by women, mostly wives and daughters of the sultans and amirs. Furthermore, at least forty-six business transactions are recorded where at least one woman is party in the transaction.³³ Khwand Fatima (d. 909/1504-4), wife of al-Ashraf Qaytbay and later of al-'Adil Tumanbay for two months, accumulated an immense fortune.³⁴ She is mentioned in thirty-nine deeds covering a variety of purchases and different transactions.³⁵ The scale of female patronage, based on the archival evidence, must have been much larger than one would conclude from examination of the existing monuments. However final conclusions on the extent of female patronage under the Mamluks can be drawn only after a focused study of the contents of the deeds and contemporary chronicles

The *sahara* has three foundations with female patronage, all of them still existing, their solidity being a testament of their patron's wealth and importance.³⁶ They form one quarter of the corpus of existing buildings in Mamluk Cairo of female patronage, more than its fair share indeed.

B) The Civilian Elite (*ahl al-'imama*, *ahl al-qalam*)

Second to the Mamluk class in wealth, prestige and power came those described in the sources as turbaned (*ahl al-'imama*), mainly Egyptians who occupied many of the high positions in the administration and the entire judiciary posts. These people occupied high positions in the administration such as the vizir, confidential secretary (*katib al-sirr*), controller of the army (*nazir al-gaysh*), controller of privy funds (*nazir al-khass*), controller of the exchequer (*nazir al-mal*), etc. Those described as people of the pen (*ahl al-qalam*) included the four chief judges (*qadi al-qudat*), the lower-ranked judges, the prefect or inspector of the market (*muhtasib*), controllers (*nuzar*) of the major charity endowments such as the *khanqah* of Sa'id al-Su'ada', the hospital of Qalawun and the *khanqah* of Siryaqus.³⁷

Many of the '*ulama*' attained the highest vestiges of civil power. Ibn Ghurab (d. 808/1405), who belonged to the *ahl al-qalam* during the reign of al-Nasir Farag, in a rare incident in Mamluk history became a Mamluk himself of the highest rank (*amir mi'a muqaddam alf*) and dressed like a Mamluk of *ahl al-saif*.³⁸ The economic prosperity of this class was derived from the high salaries they drew from the treasury as well as other benefits and presents (*taqaddum*). But more rewarding was the income they got as controllers of many hereditary endowment funds and other charitable and religious institutions.³⁹

It was rare for any person belonging to the '*ulama*' or the administrative elite of *ahl al-qalam* to have an individual foundation in the area during the Bahri period, except those '*ulama*' who belonged to the *khanqahs* of Sa'id al-Su'ada' and Baybars al-Gashankir who might have been buried at the collective tombs of *turbat al-sufiyya*. The first high ranking notable of *ahl al-qalam* known to have an individual tomb in the *sahara* is Sa'd al-Din b. Ghurab, himself a rare case of an '*alim*' becoming a Mamluk late in his career shortly before his untimely death in 808/1406. He was followed by his arch-rival Gamal al-Din al-Ustadar (d. 812/1409). This trend was continued by many of the civilians who reached the high echelons of the Mamluk civil administration throughout the Burgi period. Many of the *ahl al-qalam* who maintained hereditary succession to the highest posts of the Mamluk administration during the 9/14th century (in contrast to the Mamluk tradition that did not acknowledge birthrights when it came to the posts reserved for *ahl al-saif*) kept family mausoleums in the *sahara*'. The families of Ibn Fadlallah, Ibn al-Gay'an, and Ibn Muzhir are the best examples known to us.⁴⁰

C) Traders

The Eastern trade of spices and other commodities passing through Egypt was one of the major sources of income to the Mamluk state and was controlled by a group of rich merchants who accumulated huge fortunes. The Karimi families, an important group of international traders with business connections in India, Hijaz, Yemen, Sudan, and West Africa flourished during the Mamluk period and numbered two hundred during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad.

³³ Amin, *Fihrist*, 3-72.

³⁴ Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 4, 64-65.

³⁵ Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?*, 201.

³⁶ The sources consulted do not refer to any other monument in the *sahara* that disappeared.

³⁷ Popper, *Notes*, vol. 1, 96-101.

³⁸ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 1, 111; Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 2, 329; Popper, *Notes*, vol. 1, 85.

³⁹ Sometimes they invested in trading secretly out of fear of the sultans who imposed a ban on trading on this class. See 'Ashur, *al-Mugtama al-masri*, 33-34.

⁴⁰ The Members of the family who founded those mausoleums and their dates are listed in tables 1-4.

The lot of the Karimis declined sharply after Barsbay imposed a state monopoly on the spice trade in 832/1429. They disappeared completely in the second half of the 9/15th century due to the diversion of the trade routes.⁴¹ The Karimis and the commercial class in Egypt never tried to gain political influence, in spite of their immense wealth, leaving the political authority to the Mamluks.⁴²

Ironically this rich class which possessed the financial means to build, is almost absent from the *sahara*. The sources do not mention any foundation in the *sahara* attributed to a Karimi merchant. They probably avoided the manifestation of wealth in this essentially Mamluk area to avoid confiscation. Only Mamluk merchants, such as al-Magd al-Sallami (d. 743/1342) and Qanim al-Tagir (d. 871/1466) more than a century afterwards, are known to have individual foundations in the area.

The Mamluk merchants who imported the young *mamluks* from their countries of origin wielded the respect and lifelong loyalty of the *mamluks* they brought to Egypt. In some cases the *mamluk* would be given the *nisba* of his merchant.⁴³ Several of the Mamluk traders attained positions of power, for example al-Magd al-Sallami (d. 743/1342), the confidant of al-Nasir Muhammad.⁴⁴ Others became part of the Mamluk class themselves and attained the highest ranks, such as Qanim al-Tagir (d. 871/1466), *atabik al-ʿasakir* under al-Zahir Khushqadam.⁴⁵

D) Institutional patronage

The *Turbat al-sufiyya* represents an unusual situation where the patrons are not individuals but an institution, that of the *khanqah* of Saʿid al-Suʿada. This first *khanqah* to be built in Cairo on the main street of the city was established by the Ayyubid Salah al-Din who endowed it with a rich trust fund generating revenues to support three hundred *sufis* with lavish daily rations of bread and meat in addition to confectionery, soaps and cloth.⁴⁶ It was the most prestigious *khanqah* in Cairo and its *shaykh* was *shaykh shuyukh al-sufiyya* until al-Nasir Muhammad founded his *khanqah* at Siryaqus.⁴⁷ After the hardships of 806/1403-4 during the turbulent reign of al-Nasir Farag, the *khanqah* lost a large part of its income and prestige.

It seems that some of the *sufis* were buried in the *khanqah* itself, as it had some underground tombs,⁴⁸ however the bulk of its dead were buried in the large *turba* covering an area of two acres built on part of the former *Maydan al-Qabaq* in the *sahara*. At the beginning only *sufis*, *ʿulama* and religious figures were allowed to be buried there and it was visited by the people for blessings. During the reign of al-Zahir Barquq, its *shaykh* Shams al-Din al-Bilali allowed anybody to be buried in *turbat al-sufiyya* for payment, and in this way undesirable elements including "aids of tyrants and those whose way (of behavior) does not commend praise" found their way to its lot.⁴⁹ It became a meeting point for women and slaves and declined in importance, after it was the most famous in the *sahara* for its collection of tombs of the *ʿulama*, *hadith* transmitters, and saints.⁵⁰ The chronicles are full of references of people buried in *turbat al-sufiyya* who were not related to each other. It seems that it became a public burial area for the *ʿulama* who could not afford a burial plot of their own or who wished to be buried in the vicinity of holy people.

A *hawsh* for the *sufis* in the *sahara* belonging to the *khanqah* of Baybars al-Gashankir (*hawsh al-sufiyya al-Baybarsiyya*) is mentioned by one source⁵¹ where al-Maqrizi (d. 845/1441) was said to be buried.⁵² This splendid *khanqah* (Index 32) was opposite the *khanqah* of Saʿid al-Suʿada and accommodated four hundred *sufis*, but Maqrizi, who referred to this *khanqah* as the greatest of its kind in his time,⁵³ does not mention any burial court belonging to it. The *waqfiyya* of the *khanqah* provides for a washer (*mughassil*) of the dead,⁵⁴ and for shrouds and funeral expenditures for the destitute;⁵⁵ yet it does not mention any allocation for a burial court or similar arrangement for its own *sufis*.

⁴¹Labib, "Karimi," 640-43.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 643.

⁴³Al-Zahir Barquq for example is called Barquq al-ʿUthmani after ʿUthman the merchant who brought him to Egypt. ʿAshur, *al-Mugtama al-masri*, 13.

⁴⁴Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 43.

⁴⁵Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 351; Popper, *Hawaḍith*, 593-95; Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 6, 201-202.

⁴⁶Maqrizi, *Khitat* vol. 2, 415; Denoix, "Saʿid al-Suʿada," 861.

⁴⁷Denoix, "Saʿid al-Suʿada," 861.

⁴⁸Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, vol. 2, 218.

⁴⁹Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464.

⁵⁰Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, vol. 2, 213.

⁵¹Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 24, 33.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 24.

⁵³Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 416-18.

⁵⁴Fernandes, "The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir," 26.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 27.

Since we know from other sources that Maqrizi was buried in *turbat al-sufiyya*,⁵⁶ we can surmise that *turbat al-sufiyya* was the burial place for the *sufis* of both the *khanqah* of Sa'id al-Su'ada' and the nearby *khanqah* of Baybars al-Gashankir.

For obvious reasons women were not allowed to live in the *khanqah* of Sa'id al-Su'ada' or the nearby *khanqah* of Baybars al-Gashankir. Maqrizi mentions specifically that the number of *sufis* assigned to it were almost three hundred men,⁵⁷ while the *waqfiyya* of the latter *khanqah* explicitly excludes women, wives and concubines alike from its premises.⁵⁸ This exclusion seems to have been applied to living women only, for incidences of burying women at *turbat al-sufiyya* are known, for example Khadiga bint 'Abd al-Karim, sister-in-law of the famous historian al-Maqrizi.⁵⁹

The masters of the Hanbali school of jurisprudence had a *hawsh* in front of the madrasa of Kukai and the complex of Inal.⁶⁰ It was used for Hanbali judges and their families but unlike the *turbat al-sufiyya*, it is not clear how it was financed or administered.

II-Typology of the Buildings

The function, and consequently the form of a building chosen by a patron, reflects the message he wants to convey and the role in the society he perceives for himself. The Mamluks drew their legitimacy from the role they saw for themselves as defenders of Islam against its infidel enemies and upholders of Sunni orthodoxy in the face of Shi'i heresy. The awareness of the role they played in a period witnessing a growing acceptance in Muslim society for veneration of the dead, as well as the evolution of the *sufi* movement into institutional communities, led the Mamluks to move from the traditional congregational mosque into other forms more expressive of their needs.⁶¹ Other forms, such as the *khanqah*, madrasa, *zawiya*, *turba*⁶² or a combination thereof, better suited the purposes of the wider base of social architectural patrons seeking to identify themselves as defenders of the faith, whose own memories were proper to venerate.⁶³ The religious activity common in such building forms, such as recital of the Qur'an or other holy texts and performance of *zikr*⁶⁴ and *hudur* by the *sufis* in the vicinity of the deceased, brought the blessings sought by the patrons.

The direct division of buildings according to function is not easy in Islamic architecture in general⁶⁵ and in the *sahara* in particular. Buildings in the area served mixed purposes of a religious and funerary nature. The remoteness of the area dictated a need for facilities to cater for the needs of, and to sustain a community composed mostly of *sufis* and the benefactors, administrators and overseers of charitable foundations. Such facilities were frequently merged with religious institutions, making a division based on function alone inaccurate.

The function of the building, and consequently its type, can be recognised by several means. The terminology used in the sources and in the foundation inscription is the most direct way for revealing the function of the building, but could also be confusing as sometimes terms were used inaccurately or interchangeably. The architectural setting is another indicator. The endowment deed (*waqfiyya*), when available, is by far the most accurate evidence of the building's functions by virtue of its specification of the beneficiaries of the trust, their duties, and the allocation of expenses to cover the desired activities. The following divisions into different building genres will be based on the most common uses known of the building, but not necessarily its exclusive function.⁶⁶

⁵⁶Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 490-91; *Manhal*, vol. 1, 415-20; al-'Aini, *Iqd al-gaman*, vol. 2, 574.

⁵⁷Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 416.

⁵⁸Fernandes, "The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir," 25, 39.

⁵⁹Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 279.

⁶⁰Guhari, *Inba' al-hasr*, 345, 452.

⁶¹Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent," 93-94.

⁶²Familiarity with those building types, the origin of the names, and their evolution in Egypt is assumed and such general topics will not be discussed here.

⁶³Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent," 94.

⁶⁴A *sufi* technique of remembering God through repeatedly invoking His name, frequently for hours at a time.

⁶⁵Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 6-7.

⁶⁶For a discussion of the relation between the foundation inscription, the function, the *waqfiyya*, the plan of madrasas, and the interchangeable use of terms during the Mamluk period, see al-Hadad, "Al-nass 'al-ta'sisi".

A) Mausoleums

The most common genre in the *sahara* is the Mausoleum, either freestanding, or as part of a building of a different function. Indeed it is the common denominator of all the buildings known to us in the area with very few exceptions.⁶⁷ The terminology used by the Mamluk historians for the mausoleum was discussed earlier in chapter 1. Eighty-eight Mamluk monuments, out of a total of one hundred seven, in the *sahara* are identified as mausoleums, twenty-five of them still existing in different states of preservation (tables 1 to 4). Some are freestanding, but all of the existing mausoleums, with one exception⁶⁸ are domed squares. Unlike many of the *intra muros* mausoleums, those in the *sahara* have regular plans and vary considerably in size; some, like the mausoleum of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi (*Index* 168, Fig. 15) are very small, while the domes of the Mausoleum of al-Zahir Barquq (Fig. 16) in the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag are the largest Mamluk stone domes in Cairo.⁶⁹

The only exception is the tomb of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri (d. 753/1352), the remains of which still exist between the mosque of Qaytbay (*Index* 168) and the mausoleum of Ibn Ghurab (*Index* 94). The tomb consisted of a central high vaulted *iwan* oriented towards the *qibla* flanked by two lower perpendicular vaulted *iwans* (Fig. 17). The central *iwan* may have opened into a court or vestibule at its western side (opposite to the *qibla* direction). The tomb is not included in the *Index* but is well known in the area as *turbat* al-Bugha.⁷⁰ The plan, date, inscriptions and significance of this mausoleum are discussed in the appendix.

All the extant mausoleums in the area have a mihrab with the exception of the smallest two, those of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi and Azdumur (*Index* 90, Fig. 18). These two are too small to be used for prayers, the former being a square whose inside wall measured 2.5m, the latter measuring less than 5m. All the mihrabs and the *qibla* walls observe the *qibla* direction calculated by the astronomers of the time set at 127°, albeit sometimes with small unintended deviations, no doubt due to a mistake in the calculation on the part of the builders.

Free of the constraints normally imposed by the limited space *intra muros*, the architects in the *sahara* were able to avoid the disliked practice of positioning mausoleums behind the *qibla* wall. Mausoleums in the multifunctional complexes in the *sahara* such as those of al-Nasir Farag (Fig. 19), Barsbay (Fig. 20), Inal (Fig. 21), Qaytbay (Fig. 22), and Qurqumas (Fig. 23) are all next to the prayer halls rather than behind them. The positioning of the mausoleum behind the *qibla* wall appeared in Cairo for the first time in the mosque of Amir Husain built in 719/1319 (*Index* 233),⁷¹ but its most famous example is that of the mausoleum of al-Nasir Hasan at his complex.

The most striking feature of the extant mausoleums of the *sahara* is the exterior decoration of the domes. The earlier domes of the area, those of the Bahri period, conform to the standard practice of using external ribbing, e.g. the mausoleums of Tashtamur (Pl. 8) and Umm Anuk (Pl. 11). However an innovation⁷² starts with the two domes of the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag, the northern dome datable 803-10/1400-7 and the southern dated 813/1410 (pls. 14-15). The outer surface of the both domes was covered with horizontal bands of zig-zag mouldings changing directions at each vertical joint and contracting upward as the diameter of the dome diminishes, which became the most popular type of dome decoration in Cairo.⁷³

Shortly afterwards the same area witnessed the second innovation in the decoration of the outer surface of stone domes; the star pattern interlace was used by Barsbay on the domes he built in the *sahara* c. 835/1432 (pls. 16-18).⁷⁴ This technique seems to have died with its patron Barsbay in 841/1438, except when it was combined with arabesques in Qaytbay's dome in the *sahara*.⁷⁵ But the area kept its legacy as home of innovation in the exterior decoration of the

⁶⁷Complexes such as that of Barsbay, Inal, Qaytbay, and Qurqumas consisting of several parts within one enclosure are treated here as one entity.

⁶⁸The mausoleum of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri is discussed in the appendix.

⁶⁹Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 137.

⁷⁰It is also mentioned and described in an M.A. thesis in Cairo University but with no comments on its dating or the significance of its plan. See al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*, 96.

⁷¹Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 2, 270, assuming that the mausoleum seen by Creswell was original.

⁷²Though al-Nasir Farag was the first to use this technique on large scale domes, the earliest known dome with horizontal zig-zag bands is that of Amir Mahmud al-Kurdi dated 797/1394-5 (*Index* 117) in the Khayamiyya (Tentmakers) street.

⁷³Kessler, *Domes*, 18.

⁷⁴Three of them still stand; the dome on his mausoleum (*Index* 121), the dome he built for his amirs and the dome he built for Ganibak al-Ashrafi (*Index* 106). The fourth one in his burial court collapsed and its decorative design could not be traced.

⁷⁵Kessler, *Domes*, 27.

dome, for soon we have a new pattern using arabesques for the first time, one in Cairo proper⁷⁶ and the other on the tiny dome of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi (*Index* 168) in the *sahara*' (Pl. 4).⁷⁷ The zig-zag pattern persisted, with an added touch of color in the form of blue glass discs at the base of the pattern,⁷⁸ in the mausoleums of al-Ashraf Inal (*Index* 158, Pl. 19) and Barsbay al-Bagasi (*Index* 124, Pl. 3).

The consummate end for this innovative spirit was the magnificent dome of the mausoleum of Qaytbay (879/1474, Pl. 20) with its clear yet, complex, combination of two networks; one had a straight-line star pattern and the other had an undulating lacework of arabesque.⁷⁹ The climax was reached and the design was never again attempted. The dome of Qansuh Abu Sa'id (904/1499, *Index* 164, Pl. 21) parted with this tradition and instead used repetitive star rosettes surrounded by interlocking arrow motifs.⁸⁰

One of the other features that is rarely used in the architectural decoration of Mamluk Cairo, but which appears mostly in the *sahara*', is the use of a glazed tile inscription band on a drum. Out of the five known examples in Mamluk Cairo, three are in the *sahara*': on the drum of the domes of Tashtamur (735/1334, *Index* 92, Pl. 9), Umm Anuk (749/1348, *Index* 81, Pl. 12) and Ibn Ghurab (before 808/1405, *Index* 94, Pl. 22).⁸¹

B) *Khanqahs*

Khanqahs are the physical locus of *sufis* and where the institution injected life into this area dedicated for the dead. Indeed they were the one institution that lent the *sahara*' its distinctive character. The association of the *khanqah* with a mausoleum was long known *intra muros* since the reign of Baybars al-Gashankir (706-9/1306-9), but in the *sahara*' it became a common phenomenon, perhaps to give sanctity to an area void of associations with holiness or sainthood. Of the seven monuments from the entire Mamluk period in Cairo clearly named in their foundation inscriptions as *khanqah*, three are located in the *sahara*': those of al-Nasir Farag (*Index* 149, 803-13/1400-10), al-Ashraf Barsbay (*Index* 121, 835/1432), and al-Ashraf Inal (*Index* 158, 854-60/1450-6).⁸²

The *waqfiyya* of the Qaytbay complex in the *sahara*' designates it as mosque⁸³ and mentions that it contains a madrasa.⁸⁴ The inscription band on the door as well as the other inscriptions inside the building⁸⁵ describe it as a madrasa,⁸⁶ but nowhere is the term *khanqah* mentioned. However the presence of a nearby *rab'* (*Index* 104), the mention in the *waqfiyya* of an unfinished area prepared as a residence for the *shaykh* and the *sufis* in front of the mosque⁸⁷ and travellers' accounts⁸⁸ leave us no doubt that the foundation was a *khanqah* in practice if not in name; it is a typical example of the confusing interchangeable use of terms in the late Burgi period.

The same applies to the complex of Qurqumas (*Index* 162) described in the *waqfiyya* as a madrasa.⁸⁹ It had living quarters within its enclosure (*qasr*)⁹⁰ as well as living quarters on the other side of the road.⁹¹ Again this leaves us in no doubt that the complex was also used for *sufi* activity in spite of its designation.⁹²

Maqrizi (d.1441) mentions twenty-one *khanqahs* in his time, many also being termed mosque or madrasa,⁹³ four of which were located at the *sahara*'.⁹⁴ Those at the *sahara*' have no designation other than a *khanqah*, and strangely

⁷⁶*Ibid.* The second example is undated but is located in the Gawhariyya madrasa annexed to al-Azhar mosque founded by amir Gawhar al-Qunuqba'i the *khazindar* (treasurer) of al-Ashraf Barsbay few years before he died in 844/1440. See 'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masagid*, 58.

⁷⁷This dome is generally attributed to Qaitbay but Kessler in this context suggests an earlier date between 797/1394-5 the date up to which the domes were still ribbed and 844/1440 the date of the only other example of this pattern. The Shaykh is known to have died already by 749/1348.

⁷⁸Kessler, *Domes*, 27.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 30.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*; Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 24.

⁸¹The two remaining examples in Mamluk Cairo are on the drum of the dome of the so called sabil of al-Nasir Muhammad (*Index* 561) and the mosque of Aslam al-Silahdar dated 745-46/1344-45 (*Index* 112). See 'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masagid*, 317.

⁸²Rogers, "Al-Kahira," 433. The remaining four are those of; Baybars al-Gashankir (*Index* 32) dated 706-9/1306-9, Shaykhu al-'Umari (*Index* 152) dated 756/1355, Nizam al-Din Ishaq (*Index* 140) dated 757/1356 and Muqbil al-Zimam (*Index* 177) dated 797-8/1395.

⁸³Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 5, 60, 61.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 16.

⁸⁵Van Berchem, *CIA*, vol. 1, 431, 433.

⁸⁶'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-masagid*, 253.

⁸⁷Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 19.

⁸⁸Fabri, *La Voyage en Egypte*, vol. 2, 502-3.

⁸⁹Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, vol. 5, 177.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*; Huggat *waqf al-amir Qurqumas*, 50.

⁹¹Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 154-155.

⁹²*Ibid.*; Misoriski, *Qurqumas*, 19.

⁹³Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 414-27.

enough Maqrizi's list does not include the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag, the largest of them all, which is explicitly designated as *khanqah* by the foundation inscription located on the main south-western entrance.⁹⁵ Nor does it include the *khanqah* of Kafur al-Sarghatmishi (824/1421) that housed many *sufis* and was endowed by rich *waqfs*. The patron Kafur expended a lot of effort to decorate his foundation and was known to get angry at those calling it *turba*⁹⁶ rather than *khanqah*.

The number of *khanqahs* in the area must have exceeded those identified here for we are faced with a situation where several of the structures known to us as mausoleums were also used as *khanqahs*. Mausoleums in this remote area must have tempted many *sufis* to settle and form small *khanqahs*.

The mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil (*Index* 372) is a good example of this type of a mausoleum turned into a *khanqah*. The foundation inscription on its still existing portal designates it explicitly as a *turba* (mausoleum)⁹⁷ at a period when use of the typological designations was still strict and precise. But al-Sakhawi, in the usual obituaries for the year 852, talks of one *sufi* belonging to the *khanqah* of Baybars al-Gashankir—and known for being a drunkard—with the name Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allah b. Abu al-Wafa. This *sufi*, at a certain period of his life, became the *shaykh* of "Taybugha al-Tawil known as al-Tawiliyya".⁹⁸ In some sources the mausoleum is explicitly referred to as the *khanqah* of al-amir Taybugha al-Tawil,⁹⁹ a clear indication that the mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil (*Index* 372) was a *khanqah* as well. Only the portal and the western wall now remain of this structure (pls. 23-24). The existing western wall has several narrow windows (Pl. 25), an indication of the presence of cells or living quarters at the compound. Inside the mausoleum compound, on its northwestern side, there still exists the remains of a well (Pl. 26) that must have supplied water for the community of *sufis* of this *khanqah*.

Elsewhere al-Sakhawi also refers to the "*khanqah* of Nur al-Din al-Tanbadi the merchant, at his *turba* on the fringes of the *sahara*",¹⁰⁰ another example of the use of *turba* as *khanqah*.

The architectural setting of *khanqahs* in Cairo is thought to have been influenced by the first example, that of Sa'id al-Su'ada'.¹⁰¹ Possibly it consisted of an open court surrounded by cells and *iwans* on its sides, the cells for the resident *sufis*, and the *iwans* for their collective activities with the largest being fitted with a mihrab and preserved for the prayers. A kitchen and *hammam* would be annexed to the structure, while the burial place for the *sufis* would be outside Cairo.¹⁰² The remains of the earliest extant *khanqah* in the *sahara*', that of Umm Anuk, resembles this proposed prototype as it has a courtyard with a large *iwan* with a mihrab (Fig. 24) and space for cells on the sides of the central court. The *khanqah* of Ulgaybugha al-Muzaffari had a water trough for animals, a water-wheel (*saqiyya*) and a *kuttab*.¹⁰³ The *khanqah* of Tughaytamur al-Nigmi had a *hammam*, a garden, and a water trough for the animals.¹⁰⁴ No mention is made of cells in the structure but their presence is implied when Maqrizi asserts that *sufis* and the *fugara*' were assigned to those foundations.

The Burgi period witnessed a revolution in the architectural setting of the *khanqah* in the *sahara*'. At the beginning, only the size was considerably increased, as in the *khanqah* of al-Nasir Farag, keeping the traditional setting of *iwans* and cells around a central court. The later development in size and plan was in line with that of Burgi architecture *intra muros*; the structures became smaller in size as did the inner courts, which became covered (complexes of Qaytbay and Qurqumas). The living quarters were transferred outside, mostly to a separate structure adjoining the *khanqah* (Barsbay and Inal), at a short distance away (Qaytbay) or having both facilities (Qurqumas). Dependencies, consisting of *hammam*, kitchen, water facilities, *kuttab*, etc., remained as an integral part of a *khanqah*.

C) Madrasas

Maqrizi mentions seventy-two madrasas in his time,¹⁰⁵ none of which was located in the *sahara*'. Such an omission on the part of Maqrizi is indicative of the subsidiary importance of the function of the madrasas, or institutions acting partially as a madrasa, which are known to us in the *sahara*' from other sources.

⁹⁴Those are of Algaibugha al-Muzffari, Tughaitamur al-Nigmi, Umm Anuk (*Index* 81) and Yunus al-Dawadar.

⁹⁵Abd al-Wahab, "Khanqaht Farag," 289.

⁹⁶Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 6, 226.

⁹⁷Van Berchem, *CIA*, vol. 1, 275.

⁹⁸Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 227.

⁹⁹Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh ibn qadi shuhba*, 674.

¹⁰⁰Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 107.

¹⁰¹Fernandes, *khanqah*, 56-58.

¹⁰²Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 63.

¹⁰³Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 421.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 2, 423.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 362-405.

During the entire Bahri Mamluk period when the functional designations were still more accurate, no institution in the *sahara*' was designated as madrasa. They appear only during the Burgi period, the earliest being that of al-Ashraf Barsbay (*Index* 121, 835/1432) which is designated as a madrasa in its *waqfiyya*.¹⁰⁶ The foundation of al-Ashraf Inal (*Index* 158) is designated by its foundation¹⁰⁷ inscription also as a madrasa. The nearby, but now perished, madrasa of al-Zahir Khushqadam (866/1462) follows;¹⁰⁸ then the last to be designated as madrasa is that of Qaytbay, according to its foundation inscriptions.¹⁰⁹

All the madrasas known to us in the *sahara*' thus are royal foundations, unlike the madrasas *intra muros* which were mainly sponsored by notables from *ahl al-saif* and *ahl al-qalam*. The rarity of this type may have been due to the diminishing needs of the community, which must have been composed of an overwhelming majority of *sufis*, for such institutions. A confusing use of the terms common at the late Burgi period may be also a factor contributing to our ignorance of the real function of several buildings that we know only through literary sources.

D) Mosques

At the start of this part of the chapter discussing the typology of Mamluk architecture we outlined the reasons why the Mamluks leaned towards sponsoring building types other than congregational mosques, the norm being a mixed foundation in which the mosque became merely an oratory.¹¹⁰ This could not be more true than in the *sahara*' where in spite of the intense building activity in the area, we do not know of any structure built with the intention of becoming a congregational mosque in the strict sense of the word, meaning a mosque large enough to accommodate the Muslim community during the Friday prayer. The traditional Shaf'i ban on giving more than one Friday *khutba* (sermon) in the same city was not respected by the mainly Hanafi Mamluks, nor was it applied to the *sahara*' as it was outside the city.

Maqrizi mentions that Cairo and its environs had one hundred thirty congregational mosques (*gami'*) where the Friday *khutba* was given.¹¹¹ Only three of his long list are located at the *sahara*'; the *khutba* was given at the mausoleums of Gaushan, al-Zahir Barquq, and Tashtamur Hummus Akhdar.¹¹² He also mentions elsewhere that the *khutba* was newly given in the mausoleums of al-Ashraf Barsbay al-Duqmaqi and Mushir al-Dawla Kafur al-Zamam in the *sahara*'.¹¹³

We can conclude from the statements of Maqrizi that the Friday prayer in the *sahara*' could be held in a mausoleum or a *khanqah* and not necessarily in a mosque. This was contrary to the practices inside the city where the *sufis* of the *khanqah* of Sa'id al-Su'ada' first attended the Friday prayer at the mosque of al-Hakim, near Bab al-Futuh, and later at al-Aqmar mosque.¹¹⁴ The need to build Friday mosques in the *sahara*' was thus dispensed with.

E) Zawiyas

The first building known to us in the area, Qubbat al-Nasr, was a *zawiya*¹¹⁵ inhabited by indigent Persians which was renovated during the reign of al-Nasir Muhammad by his senior amir, Gamal al-Din Aqqush al-Ashrafi, known as *na'ib* (viceroy) of al-Karak (d. 736/1335).¹¹⁶ This Aqqush had a controversial and contradictory character, sometimes acting like a tyrant, but was mostly charitable and inclined to mystic practices.¹¹⁷ He was known for his habitual seclusions at *al-Gabal al-Ahmar* and used to walk the long way through the *sahara*' from the city.¹¹⁸ He must have spotted Qubbat al-Nasr and persuaded al-Nasir Muhammad to renovate it and allocate it to the Persian *sufis*. Sources other than Maqrizi are silent on the *sufi* activities at Qubbat al-Nasr, in spite of its numerous citations in the chronicles.

Maqrizi mentions twenty-six *zawiyas* in Cairo, none of which was in the *sahara*' except for Qubbat al-Nasr.¹¹⁹ *Zawiyas* were mainly named after their *shaykh* and rarely after the notable sponsoring its foundation, or after a *sufi*

¹⁰⁶Darrag, *L'Acte de Waqf*, 50-51.

¹⁰⁷Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture*, 144; Van Berchem, *CIA*, vol. 1, 394.

¹⁰⁸Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 267; Popper, *Hawadith*, 422, 432, 436; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i' al-zuhur*, vol. 2, 390.

¹⁰⁹Van Berchem, *CIA*, vol. 1, 431, 433.

¹¹⁰Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 100.

¹¹¹Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 245.

¹¹²*Ibid.*, 245.

¹¹³*Ibid.*, 331.

¹¹⁴Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 415-416.

¹¹⁵For meaning of *zawiya* and discussion of its origin and evolution in Egypt see, Fernandes, *khanqah*, 128-32; Behrens-Abouseif, "An Unlisted Monument," 116-21.

¹¹⁶Maqrizi, *Kitat*, vol. 2, 433.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 2, 55; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 3, 27-30.

¹¹⁸Ibn Hagar, *Durar*, vol. 1, 395.

¹¹⁹Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 430-36.

tariqa (order). It was common to use a *zawiya* as the burial place for its patron and to accommodate *sufis*, thus its function overlaps with the mausoleum and *khanqah* in this respect.

The earliest *zawiya* known to us after Qubbat al-Nasr is the one attached to the mausoleum of Ibn Gaushan founded in 705/1305-6. The tradition relates that the Prophet appeared in a vision to Ibn Gaushan while he was sleeping and ordered him to build this *zawiya*.¹²⁰ The next *zawiya* known to us in the area is that of 'Ali Kuhnabush¹²¹ near Qubbat al-Nasr, which must have outlived its predecessor, for a late historian such as Ibn Iyas does not mention Qubbat al-Nasr at all and refers only to that of 'Ali Kuhnabush.

Ironically, as in the case of the *khanqah* above, Maqrizi does not mention what must have been the largest *zawiya* and the only one receiving royal patronage in the area, the *zawiya* of al-Ashraf Barsbay and the related *qubba* devoted to the Ahmadiyya Rifa'iyya *tariqa*.¹²² According to the stipulations of the *waqfiyya*,¹²³ a *shaykh* from the Ahmadiyya Rifa'iyya was assigned to the *qubba*¹²⁴ and the *zawiya* was for *fuqara* (*sufis*) residing in it or just visiting for a short stay. The remaining *zawiyas* known to us in the area are those of Hasan al-'Agami, built for him by al-Ashraf Barsbay¹²⁵ and the *zawiya* of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi,¹²⁶ mentioned in the *waqfiyya* of al-Ashraf Qaytbay as being located on the northern side of the building.¹²⁷

Few *zawiyas* have survived from the early period;¹²⁸ of those that do remain their *waqfiyyas* do not exist. Either the *shaykhs* of *zawiyas* wanted to stay poor out of piety or they wished to stay free of political influence most likely to be exercised by the patrons.¹²⁹ The result is that we now know very little about the architectural setting of *zawiyas*. A dome is likely, as the name of Qubbat al-Nasr implies and from the *waqfiyya* of al-Ashraf Barsbay, which describes a dome adjoining the *zawiya* mentioned earlier. Facilities for praying, practicing the *sufi* rituals, living quarters of the *shaykh* and his family, as well as of the *sufis*' needs such as cells, a kitchen, water storage, *hammam*, and latrines are likely to have been provided for.¹³⁰

¹²⁰Sakhawi, *Tuhfat al-ahbab*, 38.

¹²¹He was a Turkish or Circassian *sufi* of great chastity and good reputation, with many of Mamluks believing in his spiritual power. The *zawiya* was built for 'Ali Kuhnabush by amir Sudun al-Fakhri not later than 798/1396, the date of the amir's death.

¹²²Fernandes, "Three Sufi Foundations," 146.

¹²³Darrag, *L'Acte de Waqf*, 46, 47, 52.

¹²⁴Now believed to be the existing dome of Ma'bad al-Rifa'i (*Index* 108). See Behrens-Abouseif, "Four Domes," 199-200.

¹²⁵Shaykh Hasan al-'Agami, of Persian origin, was a favorite of al-Ashraf Barsbay and rapidly fell of favor under Gaqmaq who had him flogged and banished. See Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 278-88.

¹²⁶'Abdallah al-Manufi is a theologian and ascetic, died in 749/1348 and was buried near the Madrasa of Qaitbay under a small dome carrying his name.

¹²⁷*Huggat waqf al-Ashraf Qaitbay*, 37; Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 19.

¹²⁸The earliest existing building designated as *zawiyya* by foundation inscription is that of Zayn al-Din Yussuf. See Behrens-Abouseif, "An Unlisted Monument," 117.

¹²⁹Behrens-Abouseif, "An Unlisted Monument," 118.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 120.

CHAPTER 4

Religious, Social, and Economic Activities

I-Al-Qarafa and the cult of visiting the tombs

THE USE OF the edge of the Muqattam hill as a burial place for the Muslim dead was established with the Arab conquest of Egypt. Traditions, mostly based on Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam,¹ relay the story that al-Muqawqis (Cyrus),² the last Byzantine ruler of Egypt, asked 'Amr b. al-'As to sell him the edge of the hill for seventy thousand *dinars*. When 'Amr inquired, on the request of the second Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khattab, about the importance of this barren area al-Muqawqis said that according to their books, the trees or the seedlings of paradise grow in this area. On hearing the answer, 'Umar said that the only trees of paradise he knew of were the Believers and ordered 'Amr to refuse the deal and to use the area as a burial place for the Muslims.³

According to Maqrizi the area near the edge of the mountain, *safih al-gabal*, was known as al-Qarafa al-Sughra and the area on the east of Fustat, near the inhabited area, was known as al-Qarafa al-Kubra⁴ and both became the most sacred of the burial places of Cairo. Sources are rich with traditions and anecdotes which confirm the sanctity of the area.⁵ 'Amr b. al-'As, the first Muslim governor of Egypt, was buried in the Qarafa as well as five others of the *sahaba* (companions of the Prophet); for this reason the tradition that those who are buried under the Muqattam will go straight to paradise without judgement was popular among the population.⁶

Irrespective of the authenticity of the related traditions, it appears that the sanctity of the area became established in the hearts of the population of Cairo and most of the pious people chose the area as their final resting place. The most obvious outward manifestation of the sanctity of the Qarafa was its increasing popularity as a place of individual and group pilgrimage. The legitimacy of *ziyarat al-qubur* (visitation of the tombs), a practice long established in Egypt and some other Muslim countries, was a topic of heated discussions among Muslim theologians over many centuries. Examination of the various schools of thought dealing with this practice is beyond the scope of this study and will not be attempted here,⁷ nor the investigation of the origin of the cult of the Saints in medieval Egypt.⁸

In spite of the strong opposition of many scholars the practice of *ziyarat al-qubur* was common among the population of Cairo by the middle of the thirteenth century. This is attested to by Maqrizi's statement that *ziyarat al-qarafa* was organized three times weekly on Wednesdays, Thursday nights⁹ and Saturdays.¹⁰ He elaborates further by saying that the first to visit al-Qarafa on a Wednesday was Shaykh Abu Muhammad b. Rafi' known as 'Abid (d.

¹Abu al-Qasim 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn 'Abd Allah known as Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (d. 257/871), a descendant of a wealthy family of scholars and historians in Egypt during the 3/9th century. He is famous for his work *Futuh Misr* (The Conquest of Egypt), the earliest history on the subject. See Rosenthal, "Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam," 674-75.

²For further details on this controversial character that played a crucial role in the events leading to the Arab conquest of Egypt see; Öhrnberg, "Al-Mukawkis," 511-13.

³Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 1, 124; Suyuti, *Husin al-muhadara*, vol. 1, 137; Behrens-Abouseif, "Al-Mukattam," 509.

⁴Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 442.

⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 1, 123-25, vol. 2, 443-45; Suyuti, *Husin al-muhadara*, vol. 1, 137-39; Ibn Zahira, *Al-fada'il al-bahira*, 191-94.

⁶Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 443; Ibn Zahira, *Al-fada'il al-bahira*, 191-92.

⁷For summary of the different arguments of opponents and supporters of the practice of *ziyarat al-qubur* see Taylor, *Cult of the Saints*, 120-37.

⁸For a critical review of the different theories on the origin of the cult of the Saints see *Ibid.*, 31-48.

⁹In Arabic *lailat al-gum'a* (Friday night), according to the Muslim lunar calendar a day starts after sunset and ends with the next sunset. The first day of the new month is identified with the appearance of the new born moon in the form of crescent after sunset.

¹⁰Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 460.

638/1241), the first to visit on Thursday night was 'Ali b. Gaushan known as Ibn al-Gabas (d. 638/1241),¹¹ but he disputes the origin of the Saturday *ziyara*.¹²

Tomb visitation was popular both among men and women. Traditions sanctioned the right of women to visit the tombs providing that they refrain from prohibited actions, such as emotional display, talking to strangers or uncovering their faces.¹³ From the view point of the 'ulama', misconduct and the relaxation of the strict social code of the time, such as the mingling of the sexes, women exposing their faces while talking and even touching strange men were inevitable in this relatively secluded part of the city.¹⁴ The 'ulama' and the authorities responded to such misconduct by prohibiting women from conducting the *ziyara* on Fridays, attending feasts or funerals and by punishing those who transported them to the Qarafa. Such prohibitions seem not to have been taken seriously, as it was reimposed frequently during the Mamluk period.¹⁵

Ibn Battuta, the famous Moroccan traveller of the 8th/14th century who visited Cairo ca. 725/1325, wrote a short section on the Qarafas of Cairo and its sanctuaries confirming, as an eye witness, the situation as we know of it in the Qarafa:

At (old) Cairo too is (the cemetery called) al-Qarafa, a place of vast repute for blessed power, whose special virtue is affirmed in a tradition related by al-Qurtubi among others, for it is a part of the mount of al-Muqattam, of which God has promised that it shall be one of the gardens of Paradise. These people build in the Qarafa beautiful domed chapels and surround them by walls, so that they look like houses, and they construct chambers in them and hire the services of Qur'an readers, who recite night and day in a beautiful voices. There some of them build a religious house or a madrasa by the side of the mausoleum. They go out every Thursday evening to spend a night there with children and womenfolk and make a circuit of the famous sanctuaries. They go out also to spend the night there on the night of mid-Sha'ban, with the market place taking out all kinds of eatables.¹⁶

II-The tombs of the saints and pilgrimage

Maqrizi mentions seven tombs that are to be visited in a *ziyara*,¹⁷ which are also given in later traditions though in different order¹⁸ or with slight change in the names of the saints,¹⁹ and gives the names for some additional tombs that were, according to him, mentioned in later traditions as well. Maqrizi also mentions that the *ziyara* was conducted by a guide called *shaykh al-zuwar* according to a certain schedule, each of them leading a group of pilgrims including women and children, and adds that the conduct of pilgrims during the *ziyara* was sometimes worthy of praise but was also objectionable in other instances.²⁰

A genre of pious literature dealing with the visitation of the tombs of the cemeteries of Cairo developed starting from the end of 5/11 th century and acted as pilgrimage guide books. Twenty-one such guides are identified within the period up to 9/15 C, with only four guides surviving in complete form.²¹ The oldest of the surviving guides preserved in different manuscripts is by Ibn 'Uthman (d. 615/1218),²² called *Murshid al-zuwar ila qubur al-abrar* (The Pious Visitor's Guide to the Tombs of the Righteous).²³ The second of the guides, also preserved in different manuscripts, is by Ibn al-Nasikh (d. c 696/1297), called *Misbah al-dayji wa 'ghawth al-raji wa kahf al-laji* (A Lamp for the Darkness, An Aid for the Expectant Seeker and a Haven for the One Seeking Refuge).²⁴ The third is in published form, dated to 1402 by Ibn al-Zayyat (d. 804/1412) and is called *Al-Kawakib al-saiyara fi tartib al-ziyara fi al-qarafatain al-kubra wa*

¹¹Taylor, *Cult of the Saints*, 102.

¹²Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 461.

¹³Sakhawi, *Tuhfat al-ahbab*, 8-9.

¹⁴Taylor, *Cult of the Saints*, 96-97.

¹⁵Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh ibn qadi shuhba*, 383; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 12, 30; *Manhal*, vol. 2, 48-49; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 2, 84, 142, 186, vol. 4, 76; Al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*, 247.

¹⁶Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. 1, 45-6.

¹⁷These are the tombs of Abu al-Hasan Ibn al-Sa'igh al-Dainuri (d. 331/943), 'Abd al-Samad Ibn Ibrahim al-Baghdadi (d. 335/946-7), Abu Ibrahim Isma'il Ibn al-Mazni (d. 264/878), al-Qadi Bakar Ibn Qutaiyba (d. 207/822), al-Qadi al-Mufadal Ibn Fadalla (d. 252/866), al-Qadi Abu Bakr al-Qimni (d. 432/1041), and Thu al-Nun al-Masri (d. 245/859). See Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 461.

¹⁸Sakhawi, *Tuhfat al-ahbab*, 452-53.

¹⁹Ibn Zahira, *Al-fada'il al-bahira*, 193-94.

²⁰Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 461.

²¹Taylor, *Cult of the Saints*, 7.

²²For full names of the authors and citation of the four guides see the Primary Sources of the bibliography in Taylor, *Cult of the Saints*, 267-9.

²³*Ibid.*, 8.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 9.

al-sughra (The Shooting Star in the Organization of the Visit to the Two Qarafas).²⁵ The fourth is also in published form by Sakhawi²⁶ (d. 887/1482-83) and called *Tuhfat al-ahbab wa bughyat al-tulab fi al-khitat wa al-mazarat wa al-tarajim wa al-biqa' al-mubarakat* (The Gem of the Beloved and Desired Object of those Seeking the Quarters, Shrines, Biographies and All Other Places).²⁷ The four guides are strikingly similar in their formula and structure and duplicate most of their information.²⁸

The most recent guide by Sakhawi is the only one that deals with visitations outside the two Qarafas,²⁹ including the *sahara'*, and at the introduction the author admits that it is arranged on the pattern of the older guide of Ibn al-Zayyat.³⁰ Almost one third of the book is devoted to various topics such as the traditions encouraging visitation of the graves,³¹ linguistic meanings for the word *qabr* (tomb),³² and a descriptive survey of the tombs spread out all over Cairo with some topographical, biographical and historical digression until he reaches Bab al-Qarafa and the mausoleum of al-Saiyda Nafisa.³³ The remaining part of the book is a confusing survey of the various tombs and places of interest in the two Qarafas. The part about the development of the *sahara'* in *Tuhfat al-ahbab*³⁴ is copied almost verbatim from the *Khitat*. *Turbat al-sufiyya* is also mentioned in passing, using the same words of the *Khitat* without any details, as it seems that by that time it degenerated into a meeting point for women and a place for slaves after it became the best known in the *sahara'* for its aggregate of tombs for 'ulama', *hadith* transmitters, and saints.³⁵

Only two tombs in the *sahara'* are mentioned in *Tuhfat al-ahbab* as being holy enough to be worth a visit; the tomb and *zawiya* of Ibn Gaushan³⁶ and the tomb of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi. On the death of the latter on one Saturday thirty thousand attended his funeral as it coincided with a mass visit to the *sahara'* by the population of Cairo to perform a collective prayer in the open known as *salat al-istisqa'*, to solicit water and an end to the periodical pestilence.³⁷ The mausoleum of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi must have been the most popular shrine in the *sahara'* and was visited regularly every Saturday up to the time of Ibn Iyas at the end of the Mamluk period.³⁸

The popularity of the cult of sainthood of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi was not only common among the masses but also the sultans themselves. As mentioned above, the choice of the site of the complex of Qaytbay in the *sahara'* was partially due to its proximity to the tomb and *zawiya* of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi.³⁹ Qansuh al-Ghuri visited the *sahara'* in 915/1509 to pay his respects to the mausoleum of al-Manufi and went up again to the Citadel.⁴⁰ No other saint or mystic's tomb in this area received so many visits for so long a time as that of al-Manufi.

III-The Sanctity of the *sahara'* and *sufi* activities

The sanctity of the Qarafa, the earliest burial place of Fustat, as we have seen was drawn from its proximity to the sacred mountain of Muqattam and from the *sahaba* and other holy men buried in the area. The Fatimids, themselves the direct descendants of the Prophet, did not seek any external attribute of holiness and placed their tombs *intra muros* within the confines of their own residences, perhaps in imitation of their great maternal grandfather. The Ayyubids, though they had drawn their legitimacy by waging a relentless war against the Latin infidels and by the restoration of Egypt to the folds of Sunni Islam, did not boast any saintly attributes or religious authority. They found the sanctity they were seeking for their burial place in the shadows of the great champion of Sunni Islam, al-Imam al-Shafi'. Shagarat al-Durr (d. 649/1250), the last of the Ayyubids, as well as the 'Abbasid Caliphs of Cairo were buried in the vicinity of shrines of saints from the Prophets family: al-Sayyida Ruqayya and al-Sayyida Nafisa, in the Qarafa.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Nur al-Din Abu al-Hasan al-Sakhawi was also an historian but should not be confused with Shams al-Din Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sakhawi, the author of the famous biographical dictionary of the notables of the 9/15th century *al-Dau' al-lami' (Dau')* often quoted in this study.

²⁷Taylor, *Cult of the Saints*, 9-10.

²⁸Taylor, *Cult of the Saints*, 12.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 109.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 5.

³¹Sakhawi, *Tuhfat al-ahbab*, 7.

³²*Ibid.*, 10.

³³*Ibid.*, 137.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 37-38.

³⁵Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-tawfiqiyya*, vol. 2, 213.

³⁶Sakhawi, *Tuhfat al-ahbab*, 38.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 49; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 7, 90-91; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 781.

³⁸Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 1 pt. 1, 528.

³⁹Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 6, 208.

⁴⁰Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 4, 168-69.

Several of the early Mamluk sultans, such as al-Muzaffar Qutuz⁴¹ and al-Ashraf Khalil (*Index* 275), were buried in the same Qarafa. But the Qarafa proved no longer suitable for the grand schemes of the Mamluk elite seeking immortality through the monumentality of their architecture or transmission of their wealth through generous endowments. Physical limitations of space and religious restrictions may have dissuaded the Mamluks from carrying out the grandiose building schemes they aspired to. Space in the Qarafas was limited and would have been obtained with difficulty, as evidenced by the closely knitted web of tombs described in the pilgrimage guides. More serious were the religious injunctions against building activities in the holy area of the Qarafas on the grounds of ostentation and to avoid the associated latrines that desecrate the remains of the pious and 'ulama' buried in the area. Suyuti (849-911/1445-1505),⁴² the famous Mamluk theologian, philologist and historian, quoted several early traditions against building in the Qarafas, mentioning the related prohibitions against uncovering tombs and defiling the remains of the dead.⁴³ He urged the incumbents to demolish all the buildings in the Qarafa and claimed that al-Zahir Baybars intended to ordain the destruction of all the buildings in the Qarafas but died before his order could be carried out.⁴⁴

By the third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad (709-41/1310-41) the development of the legacy of the *sahara* as a Mamluk cemetery started. The area is at the edge of *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*, one of the three mountains of Cairo mentioned by Maqrizi, the other two being *Gabal al-Muqattam* and *Gabal Yashkur*.⁴⁵ Whereas Maqrizi emphasizes the sanctity of both the latter two mountains, he does not give any attributes to the sanctity of *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*.⁴⁶ Maqrizi has been wrongly interpreted⁴⁷ as meaning that *al-Gabal al-Ahmar* was said to be cursed,⁴⁸ but this is neither meant by the text nor supported by other known tradition.

The other common source of sanctity for a cemetery would be the sainthood associated with persons buried in the area as it was commendable to be buried next to the saintly and pious.⁴⁹ Unlike the Qarafas of Cairo, the stock of persons of saintly attributes in the *sahara* was in short supply. Apart from 'Abd Allah al-Manufi and Ibn Gaushan mentioned earlier, we come across foundations associated with persons like 'Ali Kuhnabush (d. 723/1323), a Turkish or Circassian *sufi* who was popular among the Mamluks but not with the great majority of the people⁵⁰ or a Shaykh like Hasan al-'Agami who obviously was an impostor.⁵¹

Al-sahara thus had no claim to sanctity but possessed instead the more worldly attractions of space, proximity to the city and freedom of the religious constraints imposed on building construction in the holy areas. Equally important was its location on the main route to the Raydaniyya and the north. Visitors and travellers en route to or from Cairo habitually stopped at the *sahara* sometimes staying there for several days⁵² in places such as the *khanqah* of Farag,⁵³ the mausoleum of al-Ashraf Inal,⁵⁴ or their own tomb.⁵⁵ It was the established habit that army troops going out of Cairo in an expedition to Syria pass through the *sahara*, and to parade through the main street of Cairo entering it from Bab al-Nasr on their return, presumably victorious.⁵⁶ The Ottoman Sultan Selim I, conqueror of Egypt, departed from Cairo after putting an end to the Mamluk sultanate in 923/1517 by the *sahara* route, not neglecting to stop at the mausoleum of Qaytbay to read the opening verse of the Qur'an for his soul.⁵⁷

⁴¹Sakhawi, *Tuhfat al-ahbab*, 408-9.

⁴²Al-Hafiz Galal al-Din Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Suyuti is the most prolific writer of the Mamluk period with about six hundred compilations, according to Ibn Iyas, in the various branches of learning of his time. He was a professor at the *khanqas* of Shaykhu and Baybars before he retired to the Rauda island to live in seclusion. For his autobiography see Suyuti, *Husin al-muhadara*, vol. 1, 335-44. See also Brockelmann, "Al-Suyuti," 573-75; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 4, 83.

⁴³Suyuti, *Husin al-muhadara*, vol. 1, 139-40.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 141.

⁴⁵Located at the area where the mosque of Ibn Tulun stands.

⁴⁶Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 1, 125.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸Behrens-Abouseif, "Al-Mukattam," 510. In this passage about *al-gabal al-ahmar* Maqrizi quotes a tradition transmitted by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam in which he denounces a certain mountain in al-Askar as being cursed and unfit for being a place for communal prayer (*musalla*). In another sentence in the same passage Maqrizi quotes another tradition that denies that al-Muqattam was cursed and confirms its sanctity up to the Yihmum (another name for *al-gabal al-ahmar*).

⁴⁹Sakhawi, *Tuhfat al-ahbab*, 9-10.

⁵⁰Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 4, 544; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 160; Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 6, 62.

⁵¹Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 278-88.

⁵²Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 2, 13; Al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*, 190.

⁵³Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 3, 233; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 4, 456-57.

⁵⁴Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 152.

⁵⁵Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 330.

⁵⁶Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 5, 37.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 206.

But sanctity can be acquired by encouraging the growth and settlement of a pious community of *sufis* devoted to a godly life. The practice of invoking blessings to the dead by recitation of the Qur'an and performing *zikr* by providing for a community of *sufis* to perform these duties as live-in or visiting, was already established *intra muros* since the early 8/14 th century

In the *sahara* the *sufi* community became an institution; we have nine existing monuments in the *sahara* known to have supported *sufi* activity.⁵⁸ Maqrizi gives us the names of three more foundations⁵⁹ and Sakhawi mentions one built by Kafur al-Sarghatmashi.⁶⁰ In addition to those buildings, many mausoleums were used for housing *sufi* communities and acted as *khanqahs* in practice if not in name.⁶¹ The most numerous single function of the corpus of foundations in the *sahara*, naturally after the mausoleums, is that supporting a *sufi* activity. The *waqfiyyas* support this conclusion and give in details the resources allocated to sustain this *sufi* activity. Moreover it is widely believed that the term *turba* (mausoleum or tomb), designating in the sources the majority of foundations in the *sahara*, had a wider meaning during the Mamluk period and frequently connoted a religious foundation in general and a *khanqah* with an attached mausoleum or dome in particular.⁶² In many cases sources call a building that is a well known *khanqah* or refer to a *sufi* foundation as a *turba*, examples being the *khanqah* of Farag b. Barquq⁶³ and the complex of al-Ashraf Inal.⁶⁴

Contemporary Egyptian historians may have taken the *sufi* activity in the *sahara* for granted and considered giving the details of such activity as an unnecessary digression. Ibn Battuta, on visiting Cairo ca. 1325, speaks of the *khanqahs* of Cairo⁶⁵ with their mostly Persian *sufi* inhabitants and give an eyewitness account of their daily life, eating habits, organization and the daily routine. An important part of this routine was that all parts of the Qur'an were divided among the *sufis*, for each to read one part. In this way the Qur'an was completed daily and *zikr* recitation started afterwards.⁶⁶

Travellers visiting the area were fascinated by such scenes in the *sahara* and gave vivid accounts of the event. Two late 15th century travellers in the reign of al-Ashraf Qaytbay gave similar accounts which I will quote verbatim due to their importance. The first is by a pilgrim called Breydebach:

We came down a steep slope, not without danger, and crossed several cemeteries; then arrived at the tombs of the sultans. For each sultan has an individual mosque built in the spot he has chosen. The present sultan, whose name is Qait Bay, had a large, very spacious one built with an elegantly decorated, very high tower. He had large houses built all round it, with great number of rooms like a monastery. Here he maintains priests of the law and of the cult of Muhammad⁶⁷

The other traveller is Félix Fabri who visited Cairo in 1483 and wrote again concerning the *sahara*:

As the storm grew stronger, we descended the hill from another side through a very bad road that we had to drive our trembling animals by hand behind us until the bottom. Once we reached the flat land, we faced the wind coming from desert which threw cinders on our faces and dust that covered our eyes and clothes. We then arrived in a part of Cairo called Turbi where the tombs of sultans and the notables are found. There are here great numbers of great beautiful mosques near the tombs like that which is done in the Christian countries where the rich and great build churches on the site of their graves and ordain priests to look after it and establish donations. It is the same with the Saracens. In fact the powerful build, before they die, tombs, mosques, and monuments to perpetuate their memory. We were led to a big square in which was standing a great and beautiful mosque with high towers. Beside the mosque there was a long house with separate cells as in a religious monastery and in which priests live, day and night, praying and chanting from the mosque and shouting from the top of the tower.

⁵⁸ *Khanqah* of Tughay (Index 81), mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil (Index 372), *Khanqah* of Farag (Index 149), complex of al-Ashraf Barsbay (Index 121), Ma'bad al-Rifa'i (Index 108), complex of al-Ashraf Inal (Index 158), complex of al-Ashraf Qaitbay (Index 99), *takiyya* of Ahmad Abu Sayf (Index 111) and complex of Qurqumas (Index 162).

⁵⁹ Algaibugha al-Muzffari, Tughaitamur al-Nigmi, and Yunus al-Dawadar.

⁶⁰ Sakhawi, *Dau*, vol. 6, 226.

⁶¹ As an example the mausoleum of a certain merchant called Nour al-Din al-Tanbadi was used as a *khanqah*. See Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 107.

⁶² Al-Hadad, "Al-nass al-ta sisi," 316.

⁶³ Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 3, 233; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 4, 456-57.

⁶⁴ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 16, 152.

⁶⁵ He did not seem to have visited the *sahara* at all, as it was yet in its formative period. He must have visited the famous *khanqahs intra muros* like that of Sa'id al-Su'ada and others. He most likely had visited the *khanqah* of Baybars al-Gashankir for it was closed after the death of al-Muzaffar Baybars in 709/1309 and was reopened by al-Nasir Muhammad in the beginning of 726/1326 perhaps during the visit of Ibn Battuta. See Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 417.

⁶⁶ Ibn Battuta, *Travels*, vol. 1, 44.

⁶⁷ Wiet, *Cairo the City of Art*, 136.

In fact in our presence they kept on shrieking, loudly praising Muhammad and maybe cursing us. Through the door of the mosque we equally noticed a great number of suspended illuminated lamps and a beautifully decorated sanctuary according to their style. It is the sultan who recently built this mosque and established those lamps that keep on burning all the time, and the priests who perpetually stay there to do their job. An old man attached to the mosque approached us and he started to reprimand the Mameloukes for letting us in but they promised to give him some money which left him contented. No one in fact would dare enter unless a musulman.⁶⁸

Both travellers' describe how they reached the *sahara*' by its approach from Bab al-Wazir through the pass in the mountain near the Citadel mentioned by Maqrizi.⁶⁹ They describe the mausoleum and madrasa of Qaytbay with its high minaret, elaborate decorations, illuminated mosque lamps and the buildings surrounding it, such as the *rab*' used as residence for the *sufis*. They mention the community of *sufis*, mistakenly thought to be priests, living in the madrasa dedicated to praying, reading the Qur'an, and performing *sufi* rituals such as *zikr* or *hudur*. Unique among all *sufi* institutions in Egypt, the *sufis* of the madrasa of Qaytbay regularly practiced *hudur* five times a day after each prayer, instead of the usual once a day.⁷⁰ Fabri goes on to say that other places in the area had several other similar beautiful mosques with high towers and mausoleums. Only Muslims would be allowed inside those *sufi* foundations dedicated to the service of God in the hope of bringing blessings to the area and the people buried in it.

IV-The population of the area and its social, religious, and political activities

The population of the *sahara*' apparently was not limited to the *sufi* community residing in the numerous charity foundations in the area. Contemporary sources are rich with evidence on the existence of a community composed predominantly of '*ulama*'. The *Dau*' of Sakhawi, the famous biographical dictionary of the notables of the 9th/15th century, mentions several families and persons carrying the *nisba* of al-Saharawi, meaning that they belonged to the *sahara*'.⁷¹ At least fourteen entries in this biographical dictionary record persons living, and mostly born as well, in the *sahara*'.⁷²

A typical biography of one of the inhabitants of the *sahara*' is that of 'Abd al-Samad b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad al-Saharawi. He was born in 791/1389 at the madrasa (*khanqah*) of Tughaytamur al-Nigmi (d. 748/1347) and was raised in the area, receiving the traditional education of the '*ulama*' until he became a teacher himself. He performed the pilgrimage several times, travelled around the Mamluk domains and made a living with a shop he kept in the *sahara*'. He died in the year 879/1474 and was buried in a *hawsh* near the mausoleum of Inal.⁷³ His long life was spent mostly in the area.

Several other foundations accommodated the population of the *sahara*' in addition to the *khanqahs* that housed the bulk of its *sufi* community. Families are known to have resided in foundations, like the mausoleums of Tashtamur Hummus Akhdar (*Index* 92),⁷⁴ Kafur al-Sarghatmishi al-Zamam,⁷⁵ Yalbugha al-'Umari,⁷⁶ Taybugha al-Tawil (*Index* 372)⁷⁷ and Mankalibugha al-Fakhri.⁷⁸

Independent or purposely built secular residential buildings in the *sahara*' are not known to us from the sources consulted. We know only of residential quarters built as part of a religious foundation as indicated by the related *waqfiyyas*. The *waqfiyya* of the madrasa of al-Ashraf Barsbay (*Index* 121) mentions two upper floors, the first a *riwaq* (large living unit) and its dependencies and the second a *tibaq* or a type of duplex.⁷⁹ The *maq'ad* (loggia) of Qaytbay

⁶⁸Fabri, *La Voyage en Egypte*, vol. 2, 502-3.

⁶⁹Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 111.

⁷⁰Al-Hadad, "Al-nass al-ta'asisi," 302-303.

⁷¹In absence of a family name, a person was often given a *nisba* relating him to his country of origin. For example Sakhawi is related to Sakha a small town in Egypt.

⁷²Sakhawi, *Dau*', vol. 1, 179; vol. 2, 18, 246; vol. 4, 209, 306, 329, 330; vol. 5, 159, 172; vol. 9, 167; vol. 10, 206, 293; vol. 11, 69, 116.

⁷³*Ibid.*, vol. 4, 209-10.

⁷⁴'Abd al-Latif Ibn-'Abd al-Magid al-Ginani (d. 889/1484) was born and lived in this mausoleum. See Sakhawi, *Dau*', vol. 4, 329-30.

⁷⁵'Abd al-Karim Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad (d. 894/1489) was a resident in this mausoleum known as al-Zimamiyya. See Sakhawi, *Dau*', vol. 4, 306.

⁷⁶Harun Ibn Hasan Ibn 'Ali Ibn Ziyayda (d. 842/1438-9) was a resident in this mausoleum. See Sakhawi, *Dau*', vol. 10, 206.

⁷⁷Ibrahim Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Abu al-Wafa was the Shaykh of this foundation and must have resided in it. Sakhawi, *Tibr*, 227.

⁷⁸Ibrahim son of the famous mystic 'Abd Allah al-Manufi (d. 798/1396) lived in the tomb of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri. See Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh ibn qadi Shuhba*, 591.

⁷⁹Fernandes, "Three Sufi Foundations," 145.

(Index 101) and its dependencies such as the *riwaqs*, the stable, the kitchen and other related facilities were assigned by the *waqfiyya* for the use of Qaytbay, his descendants and his wife Khawand Fatima⁸⁰

Residential quarters, like private accommodation within a religious foundation, were not a royal privilege but were also common in buildings belonging to the princes and 'ulama' alike. The complex of Qurqumas had a private residential quarter referred to in the *waqfiyya* as *qasr*.⁸¹ The mausoleum of al-Qadi 'Abd al-Basit had *qa'a* (hall), a *riwaq* and a *maq'ad* reserved for the use of the family of the founder and his descendants.⁸² In a similar way the mausoleums of Gamal al-Din Yusuf al-Ustadar and Ibn Taghribirdi had a hall and *riwaq* for themselves and their descendants private use.⁸³ Ibn Taghribirdi, the famous writer and historian, used his mausoleum to store his books and manuscripts.⁸⁴

In spite of the abundance of buildings in the area, it seems that it was sparsely populated due to the lack of the social and economic basis of urban life. The swift failure of the first project of economic development by al-Nasir Farag in the second decade of the 9th/15th century⁸⁵ must have discouraged future plans of large scale economic development. Henceforward all major development projects focused on religious rather than secular activities.

Estimation of the population of medieval Cairo in general remains hypothetical.⁸⁶ The standard parameters for population estimations that are based mainly on Maqrizi's *Khitat* such as the number of *haras*, public *hamams*, marketplaces, *wakalas* and Friday mosques confirm that the *sahara* had a meagre population. Maqrizi did not mention the existence of any of these facilities in the *sahara*, apart from three mosques (out of a total of one hundred thirty in the whole of Cairo) offering the Friday sermon (*khutba*).⁸⁷ These represent only 2.3% of the total number of mosques of Cairo and its environs. They obviously catered to the needs of the community of *sufis* and visitors to the area and are the best criterion to estimate the population of the *sahara*, relative to the population of 9th/15th century Cairo.

An estimate for the population of Cairo at the time of Maqrizi (d. 1441) was given by André Raymond as 150,000-200,000 inhabitants in an urban area of about 475 hectares.⁸⁸ Using the number of Friday mosques as a logical indicator of the population,⁸⁹ we can thus estimate the population of the *sahara* in the middle of the 9th/15th century to be at most 3,450-4,600 inhabitants in an area measuring about 500m x 1500m or 75 hectares. The average density of population in the *sahara* thus was at most estimated at 54 inhabitants per hectare, much lower than the more densely populated Cairo proper of 368 inhabitants per hectare.⁹⁰

The scarcity of the population of the *sahara* at the end of the Mamluk period is attested to by the fact that the area and its empty mausoleums were used as a hiding place for the defeated Mamluks after the battle of Raydaniyya against the Ottomans.⁹¹ The Ottomans hunted the fleeing Mamluks in the *sahara* and, in the process, arrested and executed many of the inhabitants of the area who were mainly foreigners coming from the Hijaz.⁹²

The *sufi* activity in the *sahara* discussed above was not the only religious activity in the area. The *sahara* was well known as the favorite place for performance of the special prayer of *istisqa'*, to solicit water when the Nile did not attain its usual yearly flood level or to lift the periodical pestilence.⁹³ Such a performance was repeated in the *sahara* on several occasions starting from the pestilence of 749/1348.⁹⁴ In 822/1419 the prayer was lead by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh himself in the vacant area behind the *khanqah* of Farag.⁹⁵ During the severe pestilence of the year 833/1429 that attacked the country unexpectedly in the winter instead of the usual spring season, the people were asked to fast for three days and to perform a group prayer in the *sahara*.⁹⁶

⁸⁰Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 62.

⁸¹Misioriski, *Qurqumas*, 19, 60.

⁸²Al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*, 187-88.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 188.

⁸⁴Sakhawi, *Dau'*, vol. 10, 308.

⁸⁵Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 464.

⁸⁶Raymond, "Cairo's Area and Population," 21-22.

⁸⁷Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 245.

⁸⁸Raymond, "Cairo's Area and Population," 30.

⁸⁹This is a logical tool to estimate the population on the assumption that the entire population of an area would attend the Friday prayers in the same time.

⁹⁰The density of population in Paris in 1328 is estimated at 183 inhabitants per hectare and London in 1377 at 208 inhabitants per hectare. See *Ibid.*

⁹¹Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 5, 148.

⁹²*Ibid.*, 149.

⁹³Al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*, 236.

⁹⁴Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 780-81; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 1 pt. 1, 533.

⁹⁵Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 2, 455-56; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 2, 46; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 78-80.

⁹⁶Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 3, 184; Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 2, 127; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 337-39.

The same prayer was performed to resolve the crisis caused by low level of the Nile and the accompanying scarcity of foodstuffs and famine. The crowds this time gathered at Qubbat al-Nasr in 818/1415 to ask God (without performing the prayer) to lift the crisis.⁹⁷ During the famine of the year 823/1420 al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, shortly before his death, performed the collective prayer, modestly dressed, near Qubbat al-Nasr.⁹⁸ Again in 854/1450 the crowds, including Muslims carrying Qur'ans and non-Muslims carrying the Bible, gathered near the *khanqah* of Farag and performed the *istisqa'* prayer to solicit the increase of the Nile water and the end of the famine.⁹⁹

The *Sahara'* played a major part in several political events, often being a theatre for the disputes of warring factions of the Mamluks.¹⁰⁰ Qubbat al-Nasr was the meeting place for the mutineers lead by Qawsun in 742/1342 against al-Mansur Abu Bakr b. al-Nasir Muhammad (741-2/1341) which ended with the latter being dethroned and exiled.¹⁰¹ Al-Muzaffar Haggi b. al-Nasir Muhammad (747-8/1346-7) was killed at Qubbat al-Nasr in 748/1347 by the Mamluks of his father.¹⁰² Again Qubbat al-Nasr was the meeting point for the Mamluks in the mutiny against al-Nasir Hasan (748-52/1347-51 and 755-62/1354-61) in 752/1351 that ended with his abdication.¹⁰³

Ulgay al-Yusufi took shelter at Qubbat al-Nasr after the failure of his mutiny against his stepson al-Ashraf Sha'ban (764-78/1363-77) in 774/1372-3.¹⁰⁴ Several of the princes loyal to al-Ashraf Sha'ban were arrested and executed at Qubbat al-Nasr during the mutiny of 778/1377 that ended with the killing of the sultan.¹⁰⁵ In 779/1378 Qubbat al-Nasr was also the meeting point for the Mamluks taking part in the mutiny against al-Mansur 'Ali b. al-Ashraf Sha'ban (778-83/1377-81).¹⁰⁶ The confrontation between *al-atabik* Barquq (the later sultan) and his rival Baraka took place in 782/1380 near Qubbat al-Nasr and ended with the defeat of Baraka.¹⁰⁷ Some of the squabbles that characterized the turbulent reign of al-Nasir Farag took place in the *sahara'*.¹⁰⁸ During the Burgi period when the area became more urbanized and the importance of Qubbat al-Nasr diminished, the role of the *sahara'* as a theatre for political conflicts seems to have become less significant.

⁹⁷ Ibn Hagar, *Inba' al-ghumr*, vol. 3, 70-71.

⁹⁸ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 14, 97-8.

⁹⁹ Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 2, 281-83; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 15, 424-26.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*, 269-276.

¹⁰¹ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 10, 13-16.

¹⁰² Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 741-44; Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 10, 171-73.

¹⁰³ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 10, 230-31, 255.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 11, 60-61.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 10, 75.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 156-60.

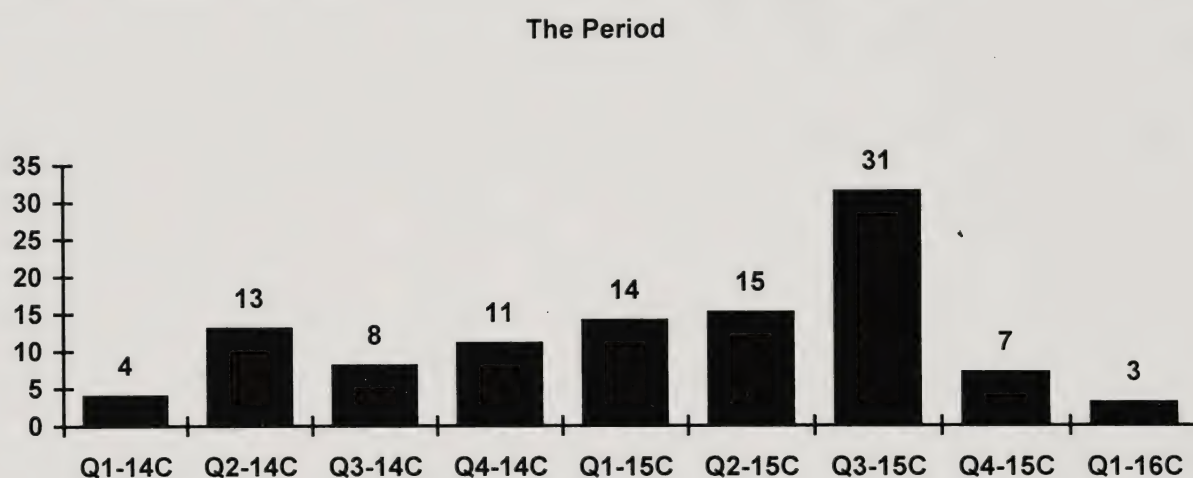
¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 174-78.

¹⁰⁸ Guhari, *Nuzhat*, vol. 2, 50-51, 202-205.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

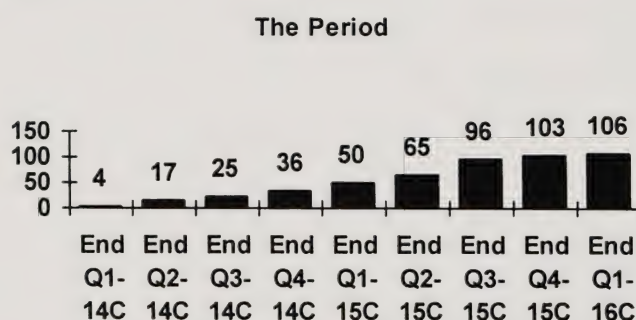
AN EXAMINATION of the corpus of buildings founded in the *sahara*' from its slow beginning up to its sudden end points to a systematic and regular growth over a period of almost two and a half centuries. The number of buildings in each period of a quarter of a century is shown in the following diagram.



Building activities in the *sahara*' during the Mamluk period.

The most active part was the 9th/15th century with the peak at the 3rd quarter of the century where the works of al-Ashraf Qaytbay are mostly attributed.

The increase of the cumulative number of buildings in the *sahara*' with progression of time during the Mamluk period is shown in the diagram below.¹



Cumulative number of buildings founded in the *sahara*' during the Mamluk period.

¹The total number of foundations attributed to the area are 106. Only twenty-nine still stand partially or completely as shown in the map in Figure 25.

Was this development a simple extension of the Qarafa? Or was it the result of a deliberate plan by the Mamluks to create a new urban complex? That the *sahara*' was not an extension of the two Qarafas is attested to by its physical remoteness, its lack of any shrine of a member of *ahl al-bayt*, its exclusion from the pilgrimage circuit in the guides of the period and the specific reference to the *sahara*' as one of the independent cemeteries of Cairo by Maqrizi.² The *sahara*' was a separate entity isolated from all sides; to the south the steep descent of Bab al-Wazir and the Citadel complex separated it from the Qarafa; to the west the Barqiyya mounds and the Cairo wall separated it from the city proper; to the east *al-Gabal al-Ahmar* fixed its physical limit; only the northern limit is blurred. It was suggested that the *sahara*' reached much further to the north than it does today, beyond the Mausoleum of Yunus al-Dawadar and as far as al-ʿAdil's mausoleum (*Index* 2, 906/1501) in Raydaniyya.³ But this cannot be true, for we know that the area near al-ʿAdil's mausoleum was an empty space during the reign of al-Ghuri, at the end of the Mamluk period, and was used repeatedly for the trial of the new cannons (*makahil*) between the years 916-918/1510-12.⁴ During the final battle of Raydaniyya against the invading Ottomans in 922/1517, al-Ashraf Tumanbay dug a ditch from this area to *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*⁵ and deployed his troops in a front-line extending between al-Matariyya and *al-Gabal al-Ahmar*.⁶ This is a clear indication that the area between *al-Gabal al-Ahmar* and Raydaniyya (the present northern limit of the *sahara*') was practically an empty space at the end of the Mamluk sultanate.

The Mamluks, unlike the preceding dynasties ruling Egypt, failed to develop a new significant urban settlement in their domains⁷ but primarily extended and consolidated some of the existing cities. The *sahara*' was fundamentally Mamluk from its inception up to its demise, reflecting the changes in Mamluk society. It was used for war games and as a parade ground in accordance with the military spirit of the formative years of the young state. Urbanization of the area started with the relaxation of military affairs during the third reign of al-Nasir Muhammad and proceeded slowly during the ensuing period of internal struggle after his death. The Burgi period witnessed royal patronage of the area for the first time starting with al-Nasir Farag. The economic, military and social decadence of the later Burgi sultanate did not prevent the steady growth and the artistic excellence that characterized the period here and elsewhere in Cairo, culminating in the reign of Qaytbay, as the last burst of energy of a dying dynasty. The main street of the *sahara*', dotted on both sides with royal foundations, somewhat resembled a less active version of the Qasaba of Cairo. The *sahara*' is thus perhaps the nearest attempt of the Mamluks to found an urban settlement, dedicated not for the living but for the dead.

²Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 443.

³Behrens-Abouseif, *Topography*, 57, 58.

⁴Ibn Iyas, *Bada'i al-zuhur*, vol. 4, 191, 229, 243, 261.

⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 5, 140, 141.

⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 4, 144-45.

⁷Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent," 83.

APPENDIX

The Mausoleum of Mankalibugha Al-Fakhri

THIS RUINED mausoleum lies to the southwest of the madrasa and mausoleum of al-Ashraf Qaytbay (*Index* 99) and to the north of the mausoleum of Ibn Ghurab (*Index* 94) as shown in Figure 25. It is neither classified as a monument nor included in the *Index*, since the Comité in 1890 decided not to record this site among the register of monuments on the recommendation of its *deuxieme commission* because the ruins were lacking in artistic character.¹ The Comité reports refer to Mankalibugha's mausoleum as the tomb of Bagha el-Youssefi; Bagha or Bugha is the name by which this tomb is popularly known in the area, el-Youssefi must be an erroneous title. The mausoleum was discussed in several works² but never seems to have been published.

Mankalibugha al-Fakhri, a Mamluk of al-Nasir Muhammad, was promoted to amir of the first rank together with thirty-one other amirs at the beginning of al-Nasir's third reign in an attempt by the sultan to consolidate his position by mass promotion of his private Mamluks.³ He became an *amir jandar* (amir of the armor bearers) in 744/1343-4.⁴ During the first reign of al-Nasir Hasan he became one of the magnates of the state until Mankalibugha was arrested by al-Salih Salih in 752/1351 and died in the following year.⁵

I-Description and decoration

The mausoleum is made of bricks and consists of a high barrel-vaulted *qibla* oriented *iwan*. The *qibla* wall has a recessed keel-arched mihrab in its center (Pl. 27) and a group of three hexagonal windows piercing the tympanum of the arched *qibla* wall (Pl. 28) over the mihrab. The other side of the *iwan* opposite the *qibla* was open to a court but now is partially blocked by a brick wall, an obvious later addition as indicated by the gap between the brick wall and the arched opening of the *iwan*. Both sides of the central *iwan* open into two flanking rectangular barrel-vaulted *iwans* which are lower than the central *iwan*. The northern *iwan* is slightly larger than the southern *iwan*. The central *iwan* is perpendicular to the axis of the two side *iwans*. Each of the side walls of both of the side *iwans* has a rectangular recess.

The north *iwan* has a marble cenotaph (Pl. 29) with an inscription indicating that Mankalibugha al-Fakhri is buried there. The inscription also refers to a certain Muhammad b. Shihab al-Din al-... al-Bakri who must have built the cenotaph and shared his final resting place with Mankalibugha. The other three sides of the cenotaph have a Qur'anic inscription band with the so-called Throne verse (2:255). The inner wall of the southern *iwan* has a painted fresco with Qur'anic inscription band (Pl. 30), the remains of which indicate that it was the Throne verse (2:255) as well.⁶ A colored *rank* (blazon) of the *saqi* (cup bearer) divides the inscription band into two equal halves. The inscription band and the blazon were covered by a layer of plaster. Poor remains of a Qur'anic inscription band of the same size, height and style of the side *iwan*'s inscription band runs along a short part of *qibla* wall. This must be a continuation of the inscription band of the southern *iwan* and stops short of the mihrab. There are no visible remains of other inscriptions in the mausoleum.

As the Comité have rightly observed, the mausoleum lacks artistic character. Its decorative scheme is limited to the crudely scalloped keel arched hood of the mihrab in stucco (Pl. 31) and the inscription band. However, the painted inscription band and the blazon still keep their vivid colors as they were protected by the plaster layer. Two decorative

¹ *Comite De Conservation de Monuments De L'Art Arabe*, exercise 1890, 64.

² Al-Hadad, *Qarafat al-qahira*, 96; Meinecke, "Zur mamlukischen Heraldik," 241-42.

³ Ibn Taghribirdi, *Nugum*, vol. 9, 13-14; Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 77.

⁴ Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 640.

⁵ Ibn Hagar, *Durar*, vol. 4, 367.

⁶ The same verse is also quoted on the tile inscription band around the drum of the dome of the *Khanqah* of Tughay (Umm Anuk).

colored strips run along the borders of the *naskhi* inscription band separating it from the background of the wall. The blazon is circular and divided into three registers by two red stripes with a cup painted in black at the middle register.

II-Borders and surroundings

The central *iwan* opens at its western side to a court (pls. 32-33) lying to the south of the dome of al-Gulshani (ca. 879/1474, *Index* 100). Contiguous to the western wall of the southern *iwan*, runs an L-shaped flat-roofed area carried on three square stone pillars, and this area extends beyond the *iwan* to the wall of the tomb of Ibn Ghurab 808/1405 (*Index* 94) as indicated on the site map (Fig. 26). Remains of the wooden roof show traces of color and an inscription.

A street runs at the back of the eastern or *qibla* wall. The eastern wall runs north to meet the western wall of the *hawsh* lying to the west of the mausoleum of Qaytbay attached to his madrasa (*Index* 168). The area between the mausoleum of Mankalibugha and the complex of Qaytbay is now occupied by a few relatively modern buildings and the court mentioned earlier. According to the *waqfiyya* of Qaytbay,⁷ this area must have been congested at the end of the 9/15th century and was occupied by the mausoleums of Sidi 'Abd Allah al-Manufi,⁸ Ustadar Mankalibugha al-Fakhri, Dawdar Mankalibugha al-Fakhri and Malag.⁹

III-Date

The inscription on the marble cenotaph (Pl. 34) carries the date of 931/1523-24, however the mausoleum itself, based on the textual and stylistic evidence, is much earlier. Mamluk texts mentioning the tomb of Mankalibugha are numerous; Maqrizi groups him together with other notables who were among the first to build mausoleums in the *sahara* in the middle of the 8th/14th century.¹⁰ Ibn Qadi Shuhba mentions that Ibrahim, son of the famous mystic 'Abd Allah al-Manufi, lived in the tomb of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri in the *sahara* and was buried in the nearby tomb of his father when he died in 798/1396.¹¹ The *waqfiyya* of Qaytbay¹² is another evidence of the presence of this tomb before 879/1474. The mausoleum must have been built before the death of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri in 753/1352.

Stylistically it has several features of the middle Bahri Mamluk period, with origins dating back to the Fatimid and Ayyubid times. The barrel-vaulted *iwan* with windows over the mihrab in honeycomb arrangement was used in Ayyubid Egypt, the oldest existing example being the *iwan* of the mausoleum of amir Mansur Isma'il, popularly known as the mausoleum of al-Sadat al-Tha'aliba (613/1216, *Index* 282).¹³ The other late example known to us of windows in honeycomb arrangement piercing the tympanum of the *qibla* wall of barrel-vaulted *iwan* is that of the *qibla iwan* of the nearby *khanqah* of Umm Anuk (749/1348, *Index* 81, Pl. 13),¹⁴ which would make Mankalibugha the latest example of its kind. Indeed the honeycomb window arrangement survived in the *sahara* afterwards, not in the tympanum of blind arches, but in the transition zone of the domes of Kazal al-Nasiri (Karkar) (805/1403, *Index* 89, Pl. 35) and Khadiga Umm al-Ashraf (835-45/1430-40, *Index* 106, Pl. 1) and disappeared completely by the late Burgi period. The keel-arched mihrab with scalloped hood is again a feature common within Fatimids as well as Mamluk architecture.

The use of the blazon of the *saqi* on the wall of the mausoleum poses a problem as Mankalibugha is known to have been *amir jandar*¹⁵ and not a *saqi*. An earlier existing example of the use of blazons as a means of architectural decoration in the *sahara* is at the mausoleum of Tashtamur (Hummus Akhdar) (735/1334, *Index* 92, Pl. 10), who actually was called *al-saqi*¹⁶ unlike Mankalibugha al-Fakhri. The cup was the most commonly used heraldic sign of the period¹⁷ and the blazon sign may not be only a designation of an office, but can also be the choice of the amir himself¹⁸

⁷Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 19-20.

⁸It should not be confused with Qubbat 'Abd Allah al-Manufi (*Index* 168) on the other side of the street opposite the complex of Qaitbay. The venerated Shaykh (d. 749/1348) lived in this area and may have been buried in this tomb near his *zawiyya* when he died until Qaitbay built the Qubba for him.

⁹I could not find a biography for the last three persons but as their title implies the first two must have been *Mamluks* of Mankalibugha; it was natural for them to have mausoleums near that of their master.

¹⁰Maqrizi, *Khitat*, vol. 2, 51, 646.

¹¹Ibn Qadi Shuhba, *Tarikh ibn qadi Shuhba*, 591.

¹²Mayer, *Qaitbay*, 19-20.

¹³Creswell, *MAE*, vol. 2, 78.

¹⁴Meinecke, "Zur mamlukischen Heraldik," 242.

¹⁵Maqrizi, *Suluk*, vol. 2, 640.

¹⁶Ibn Taghribirdi, *Manhal*, vol. 6, 12.

¹⁷Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 11; Lane-Pool, *Art of the Saracens*, 229.

¹⁸Rabbat, "Rank," 432.

or that of his master. The blazon of *sāqi*, consisting of the single heraldic element such as a cup, is typical of the early 8/14 th century, while later blazons of the 9/15th century and early 10/16 th century were mainly composite, containing one heraldic element or more in each of the three fields.¹⁹

The plan of a central *qibla iwan* flanked by two side *iwans* is an oddity in this period of time and was not repeated in the area. The central barrel-vaulted high *iwan* may have been influenced by the nearby *khanqah* of Umm Anuk 749/1348, which is not much earlier than the mausoleum of Mankalibugha. Thus the significance of this mausoleum lies less in its artistic novelty than in its unique plan, style and location for this period. In a sense it represents a throwback to an earlier period with its keel-arched mihrab, plan, window groups and paucity of decorative elements. The active use of this tomb up to the early Ottoman period is no doubt due to its proximity to the *zawiya* and mausoleum of ‘Abd Allah al-Manufi, the most sacred Shaykh buried in the area and the more worldly reason for its proximity to the then fashionable complex of Qaytbay.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 431-32.

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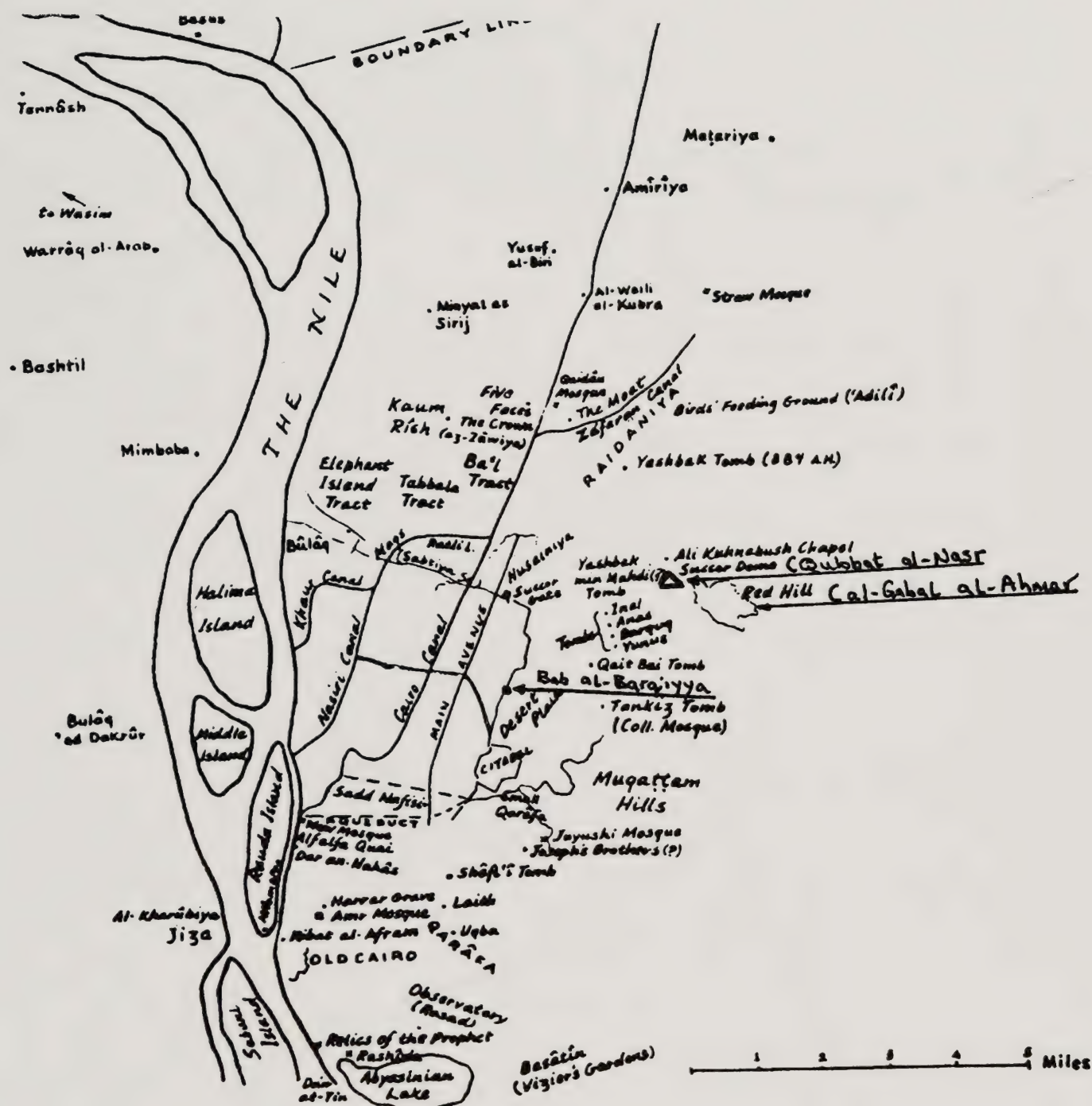


Figure 2. Bab al-Barqiyya, Qubbat al-Nasr and al-Gabal al-Ahmar (after Popper).



Figure 3. Route of the parades.



Figure 4. Orientation of the main road and approaches.

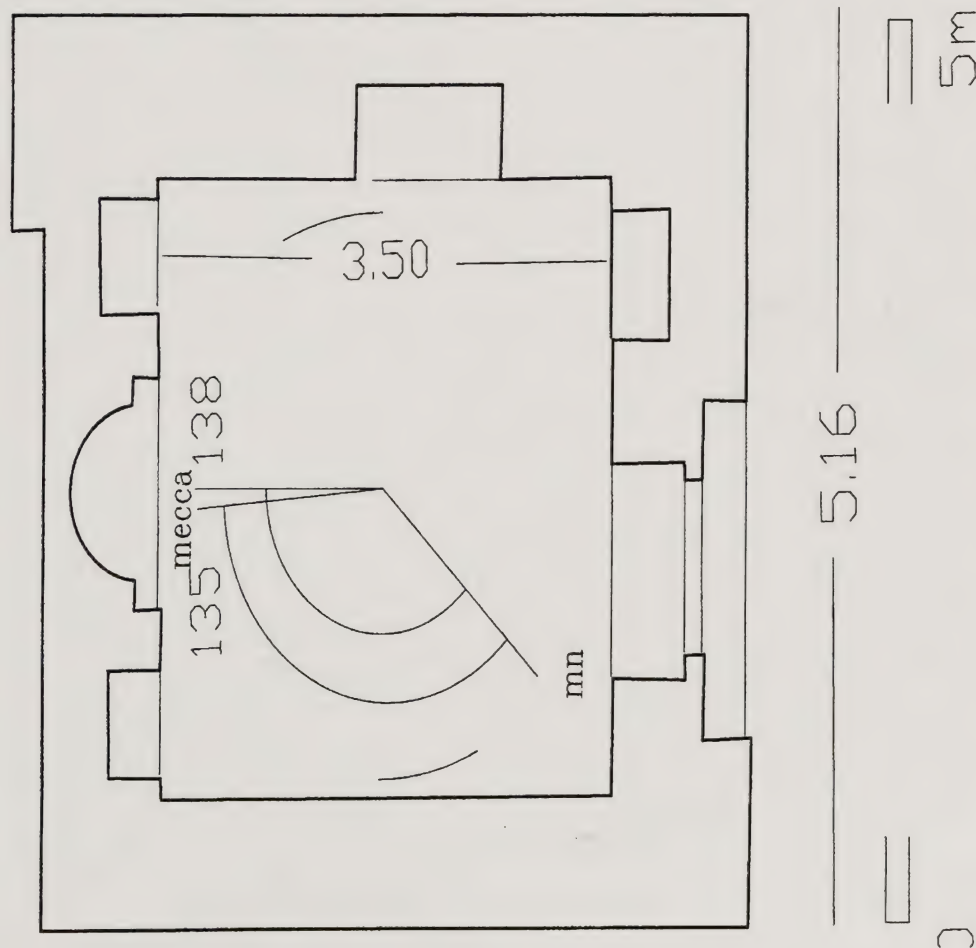


Figure 5. Plan of the mausoleum of Ibn Ghurab.

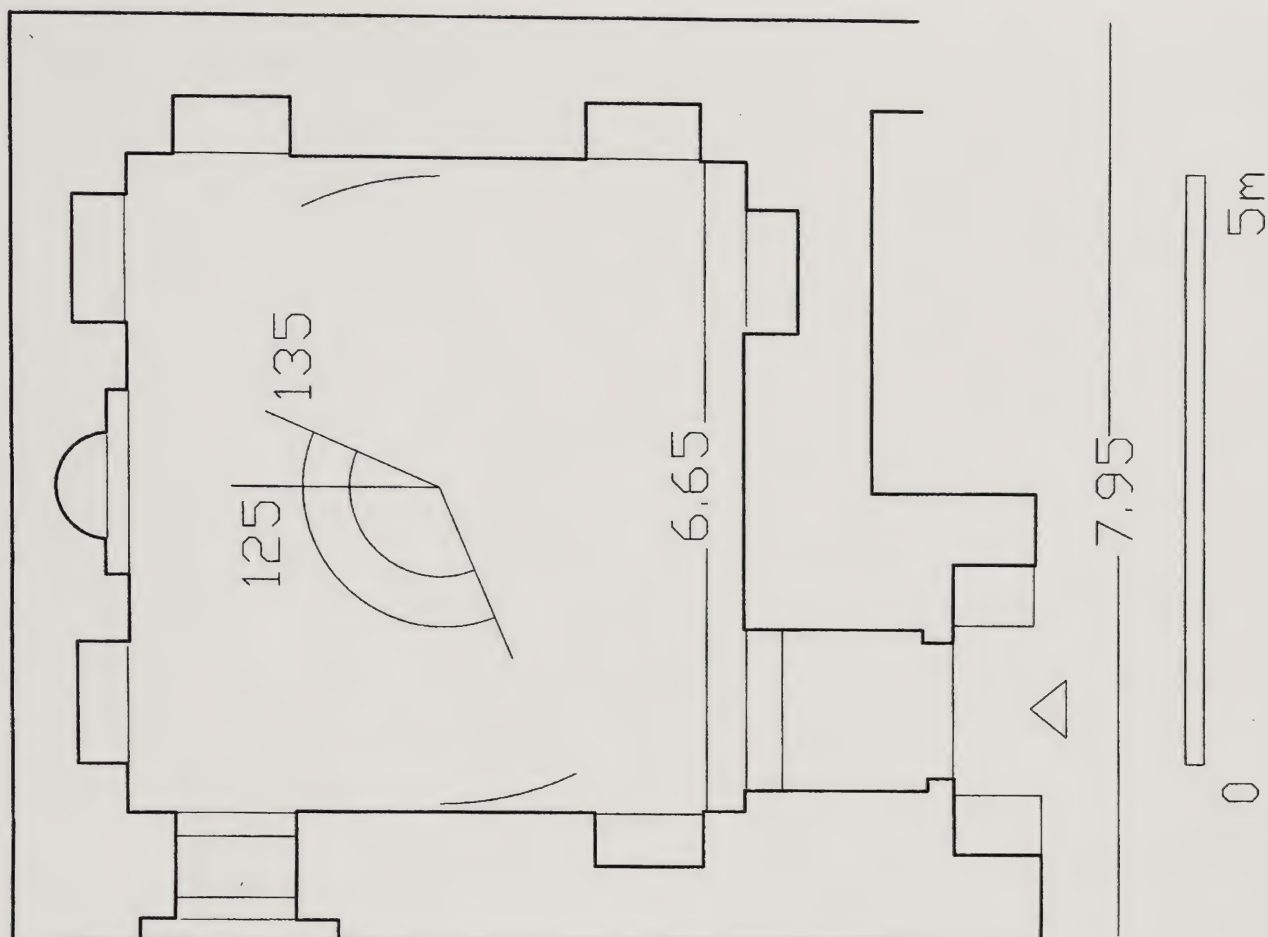


Figure 6. Plan of the mausoleum of Khadiga Umm al-Ashraf.

PHASE I : BAHRI MAMLUK

658/1260 TO 784/1382

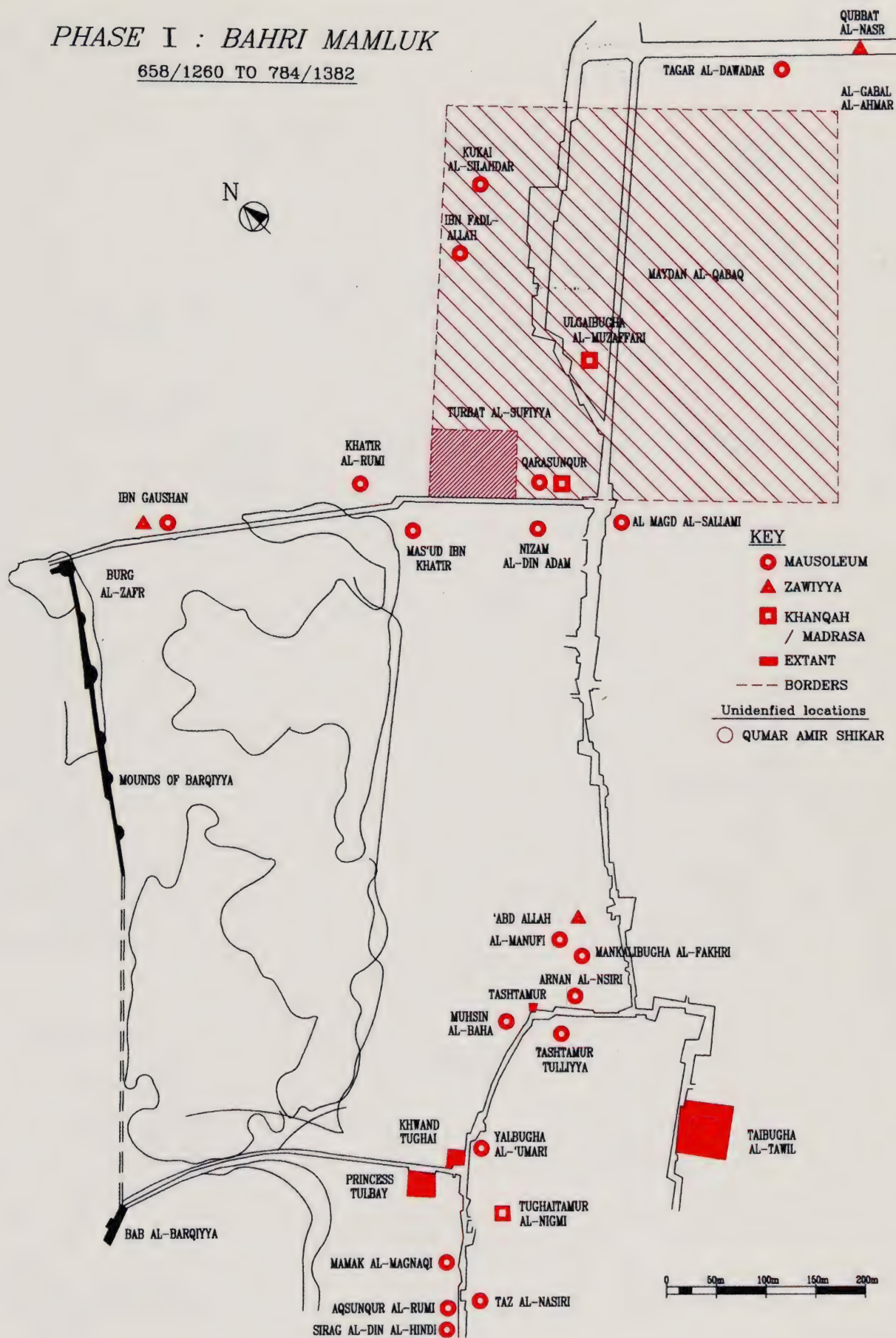


Figure 8. Map of the *sahara'* during the Bahri period (phase 1).

PHASE II : EARLY BURGI

784/1382 TO 825/1422

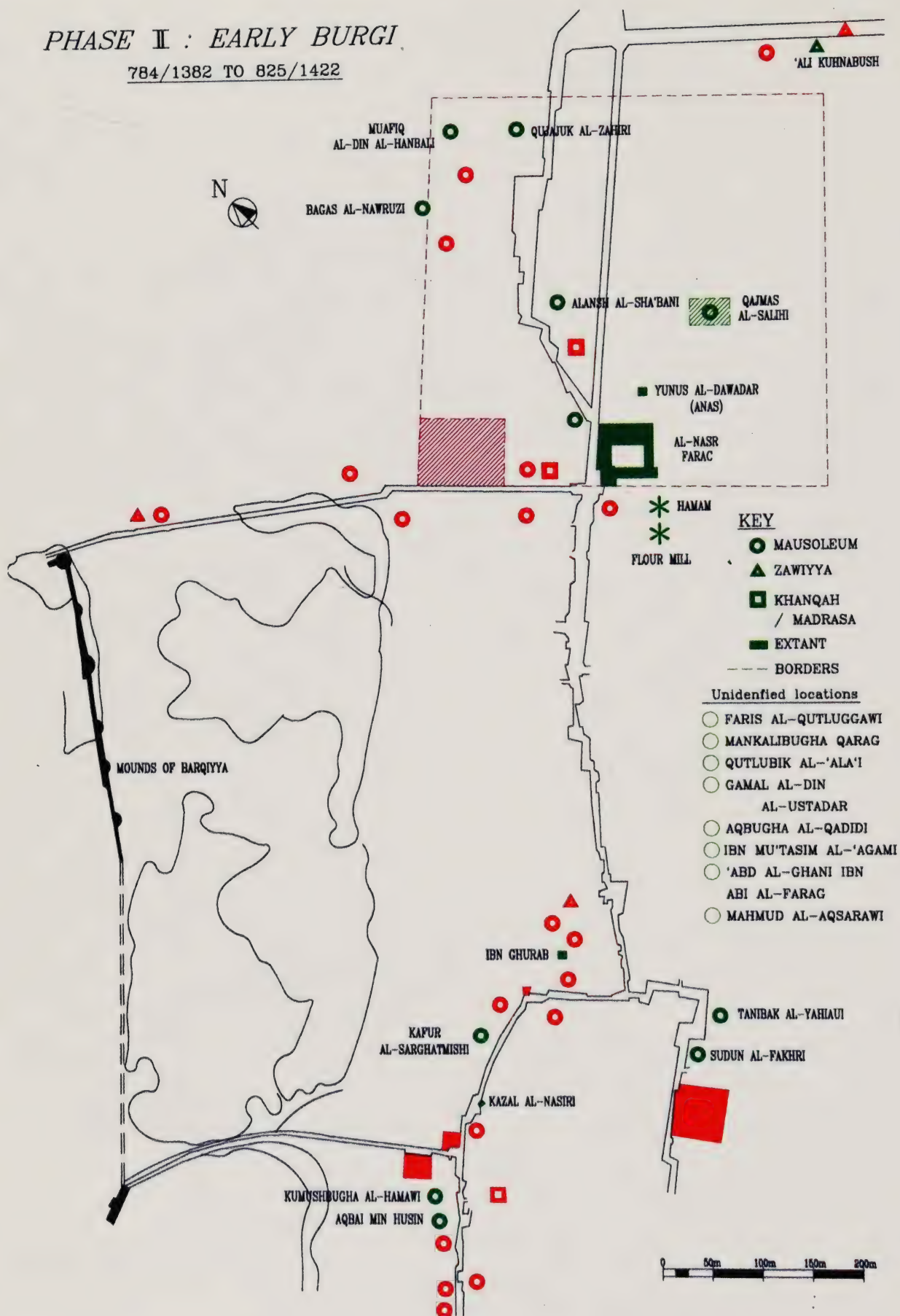


Figure 9. Map of the *sahara* during the early Burgi period (phase 2).

PHASE III : MIDDLE BURG

825/1422 TO 873/1468

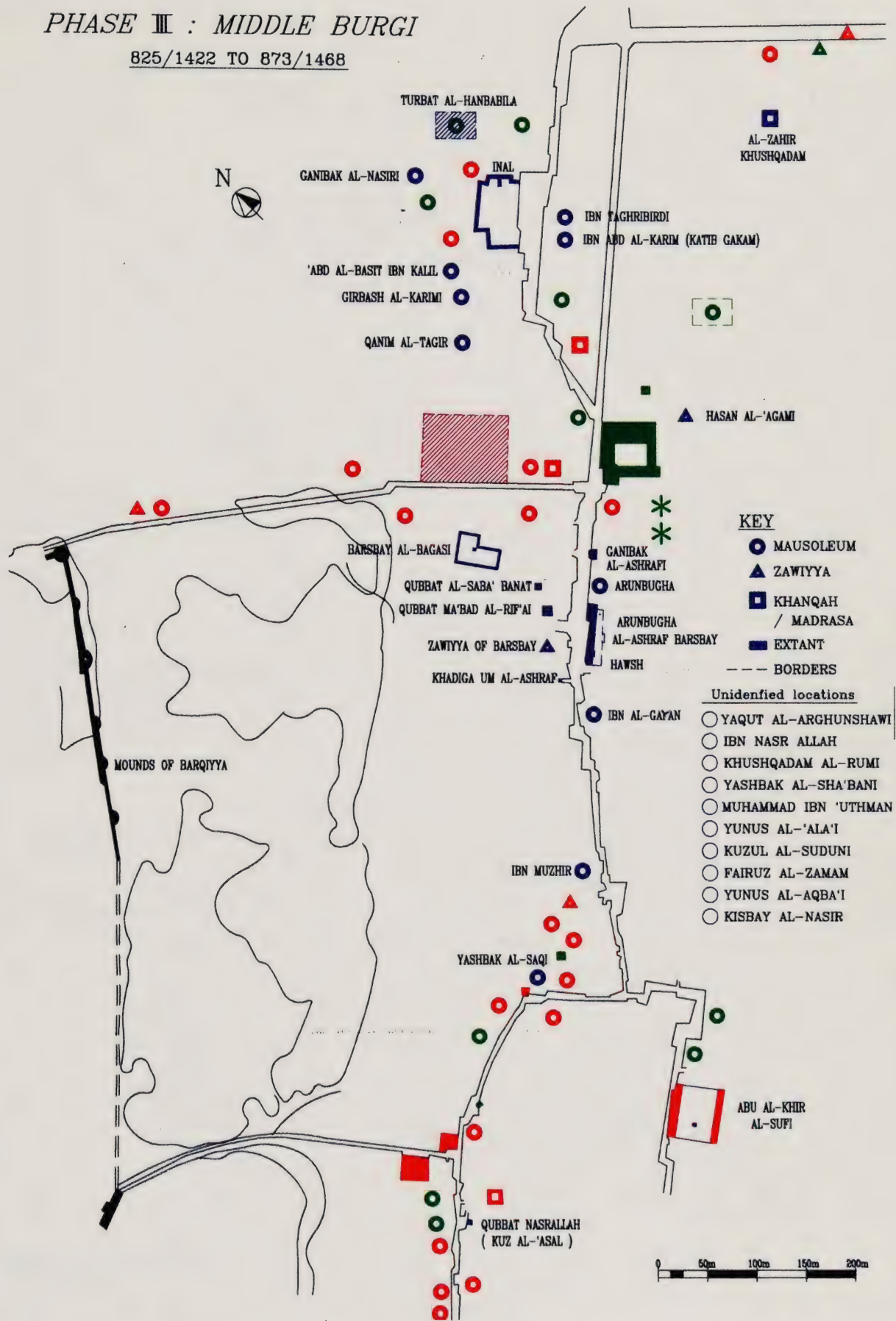


Figure 10. Map of the *sahara'* during the middle Burgi period (phase 3).

PHASE IV : LATE BURGI

873/1468 TO 922/1516-17

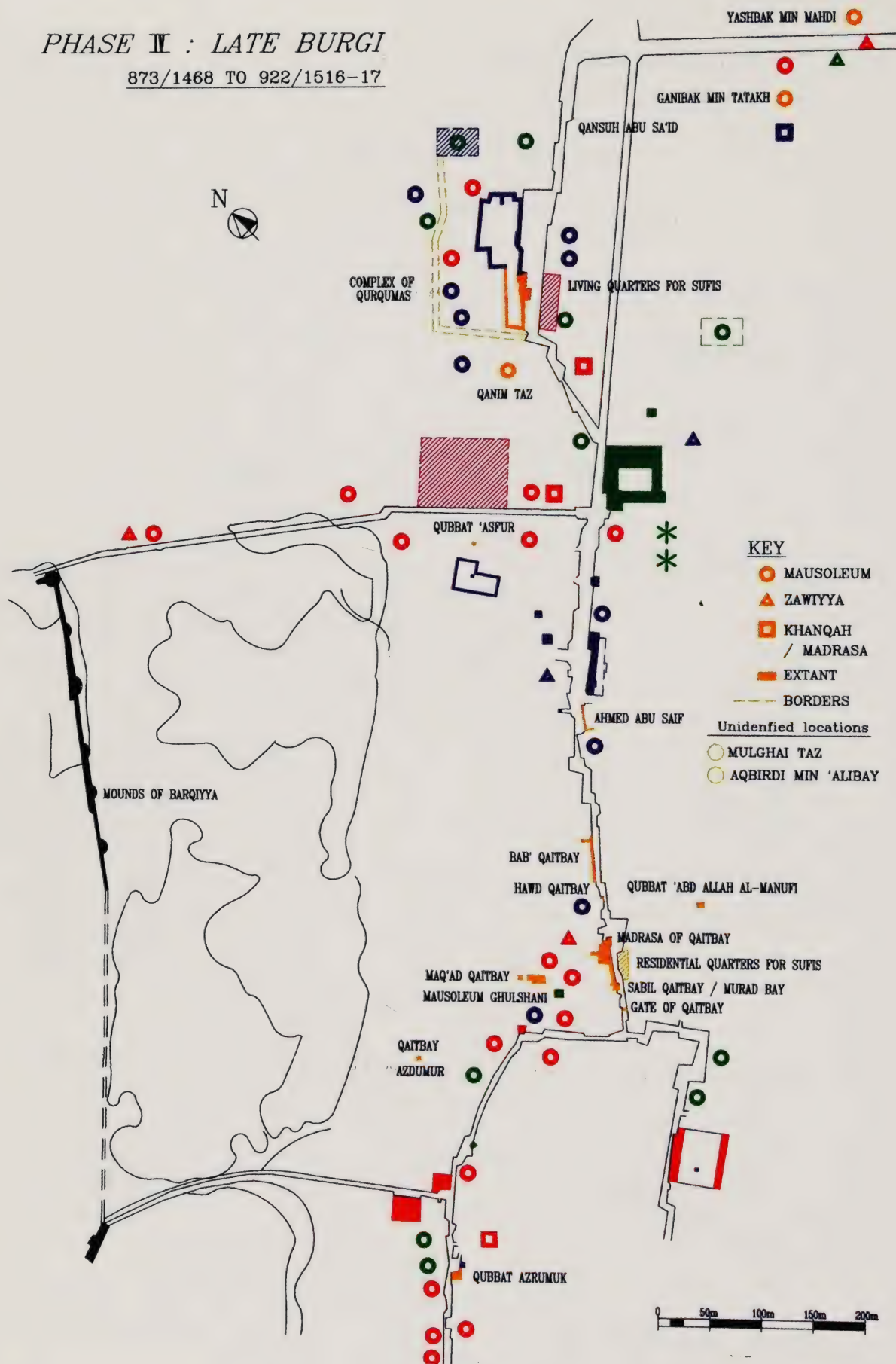


Figure 11. Map of the *sahara'* during the late Burgi period (phase 4).

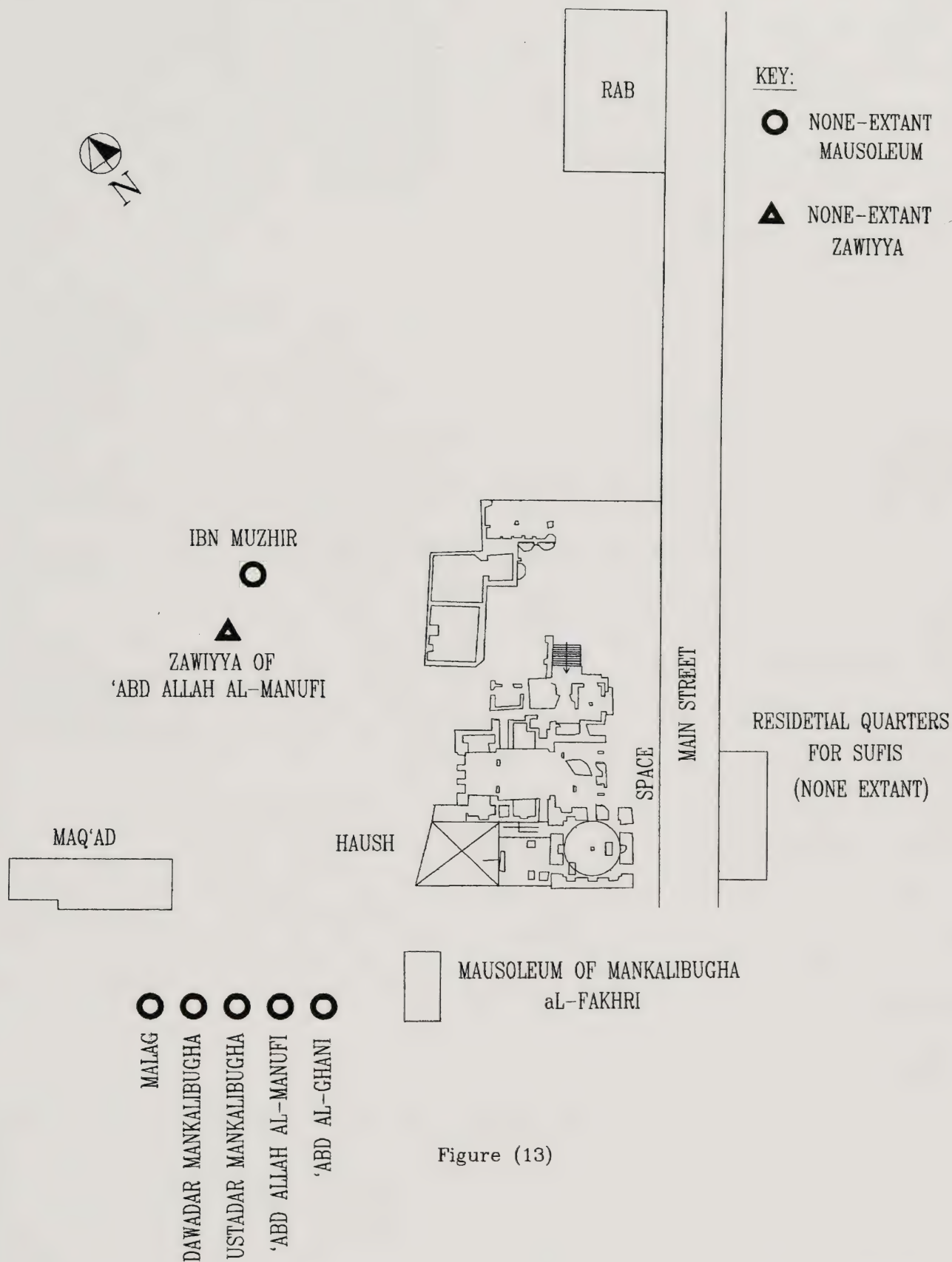


Figure (13)

(NOT TO SCALE)

Figure 12. The surroundings of the complex of Qaytbay as described by his *waqfiyya*.

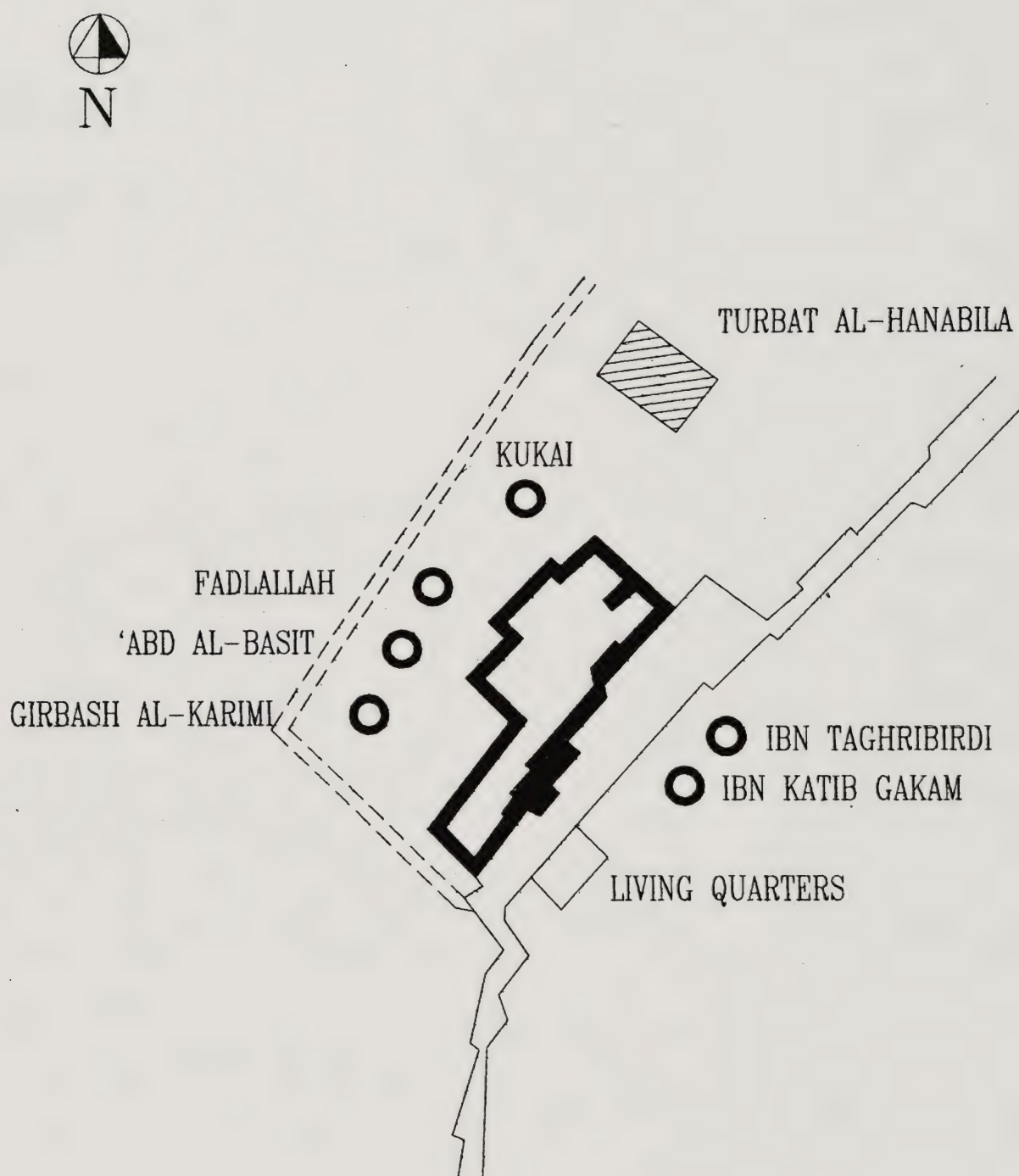


Figure 13. The surroundings of the complex of Qurqumas.

and tombs of the hanball masters

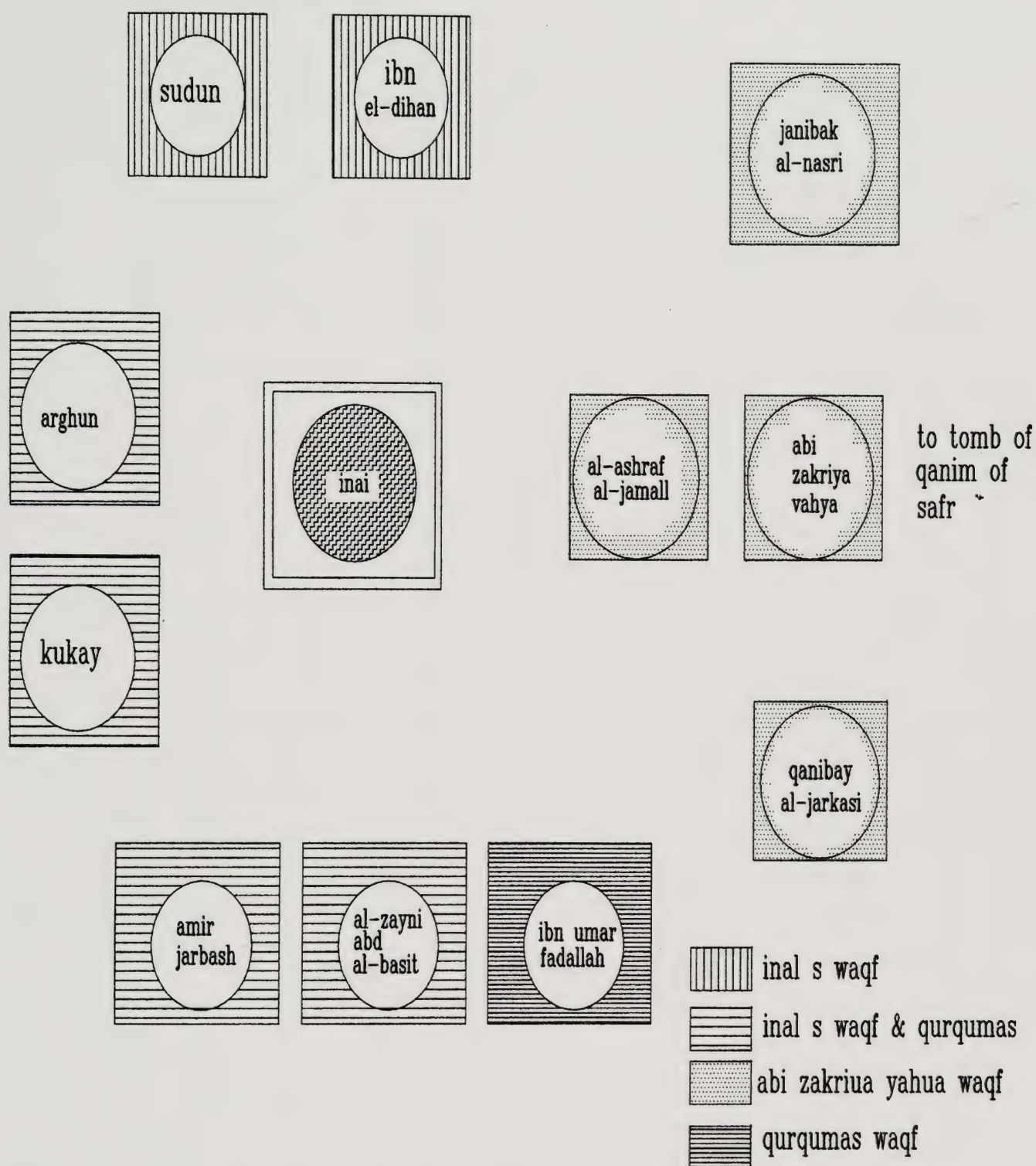


Figure 14. The surroundings of the complex of Inal and Qurqumas as described by the *waqfiyya* of Inal and Abi Zakariyya.

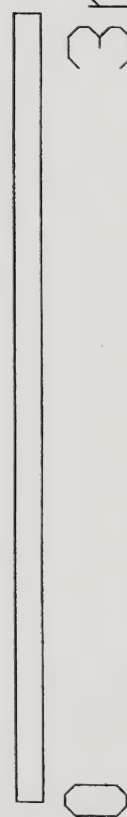
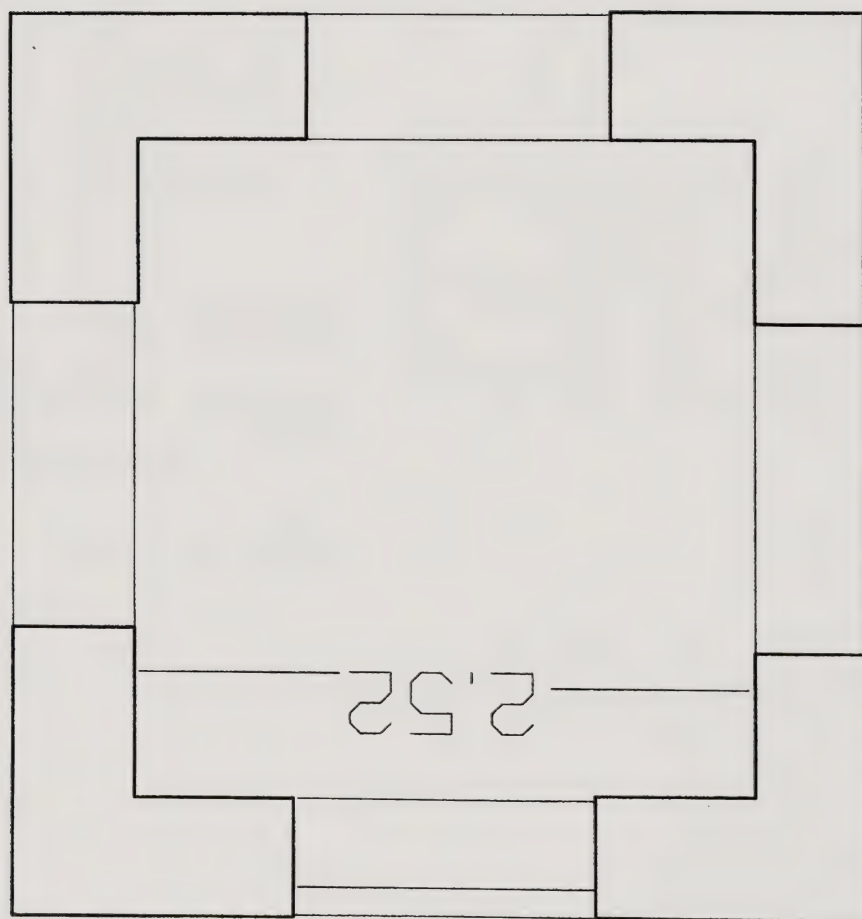


Figure 15. Plan of the mausoleum of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi.

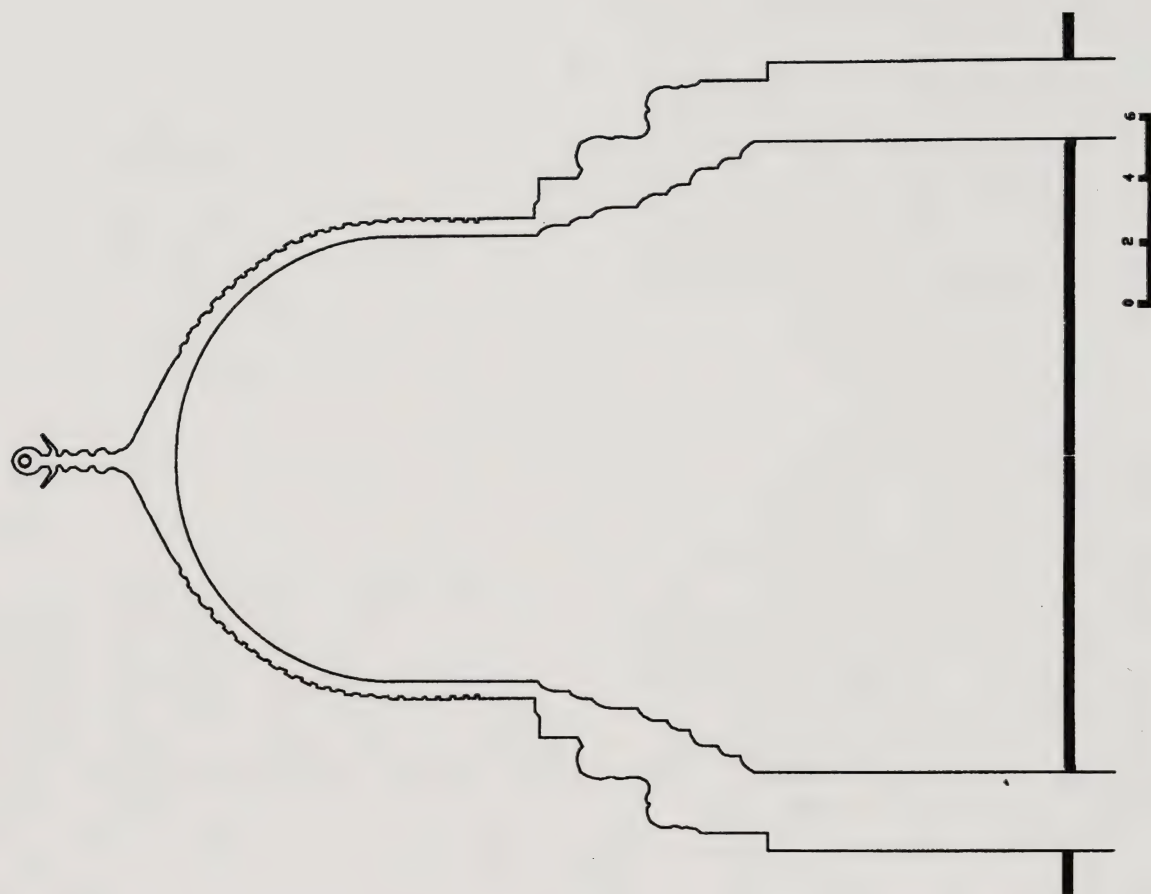


Figure 16. Dome of the *khanqah* of Farag Ibn Barquq.

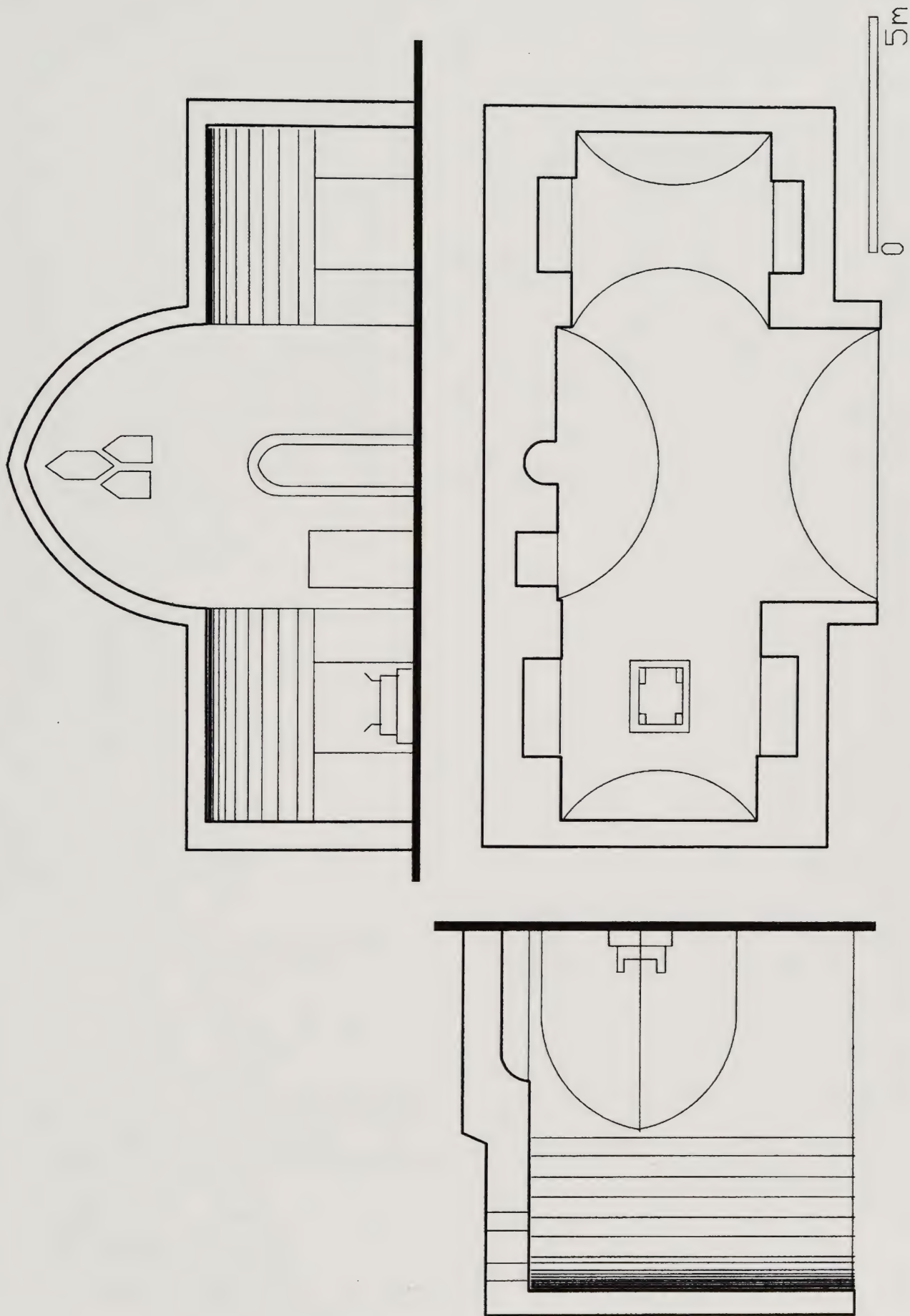


Figure 17. Plan of the mausoleum of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri.

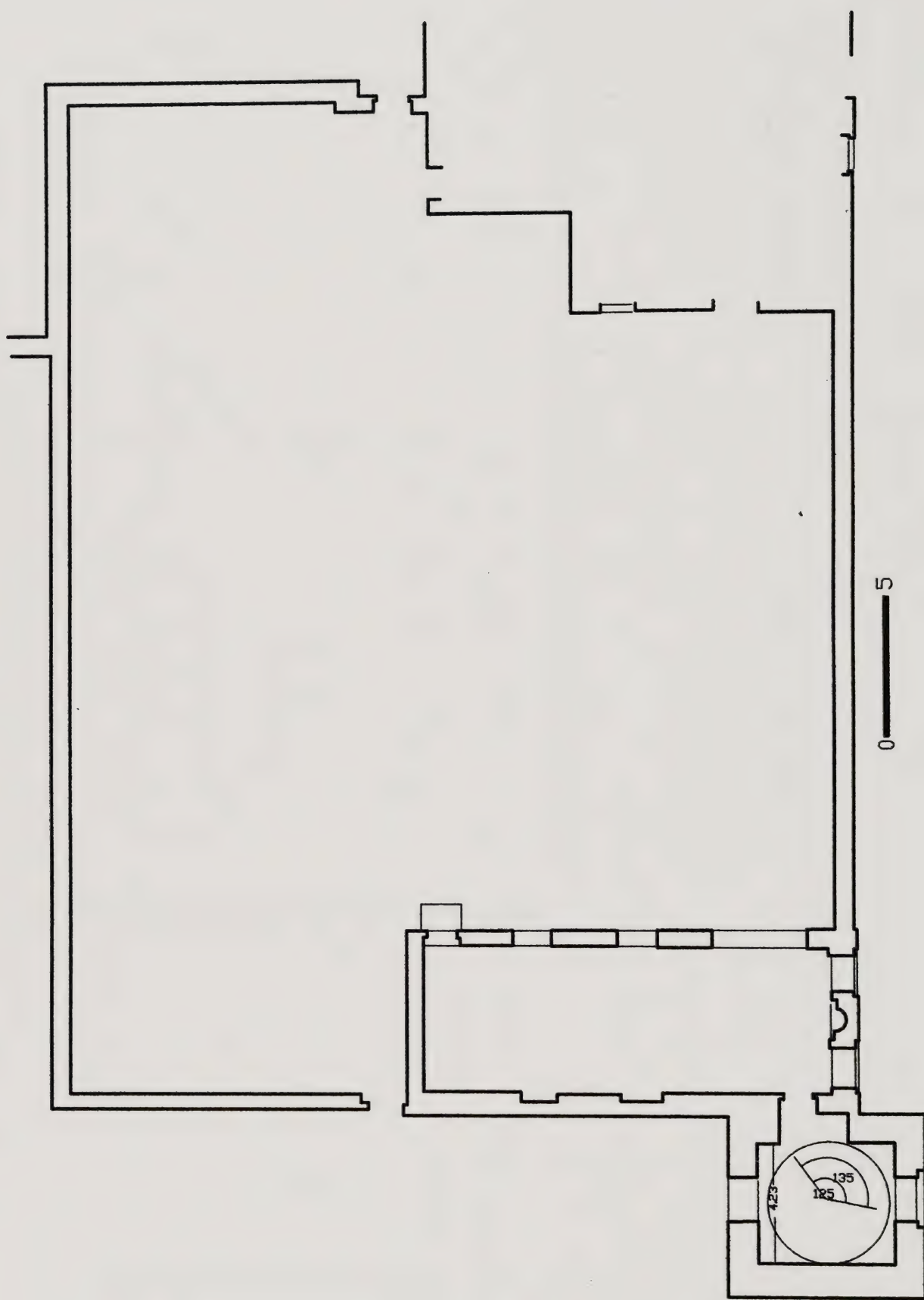


Figure 18. Plan of the mausoleum of Azdumur.

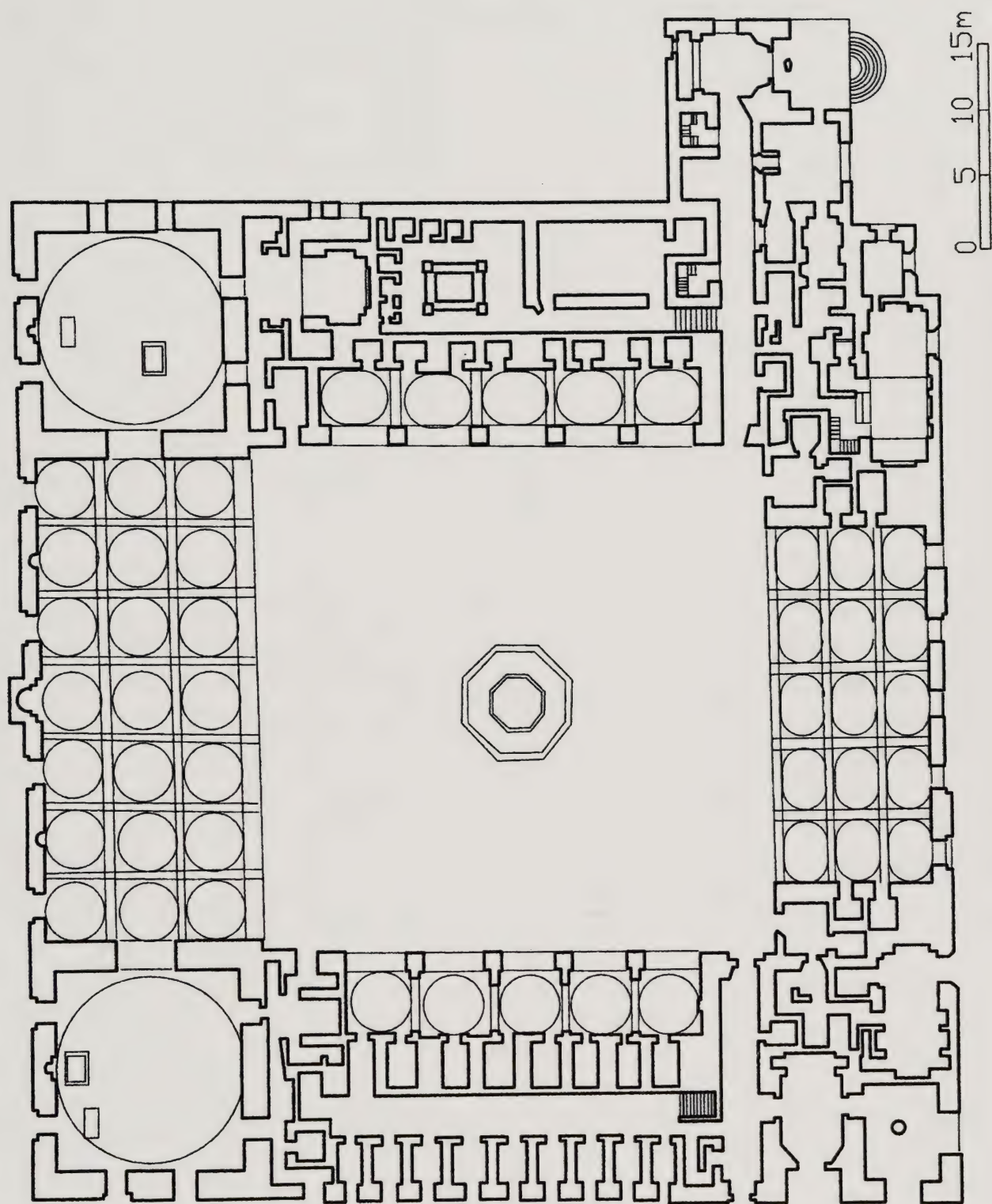


Figure 19. Plan of the *khanqah* of Farag.

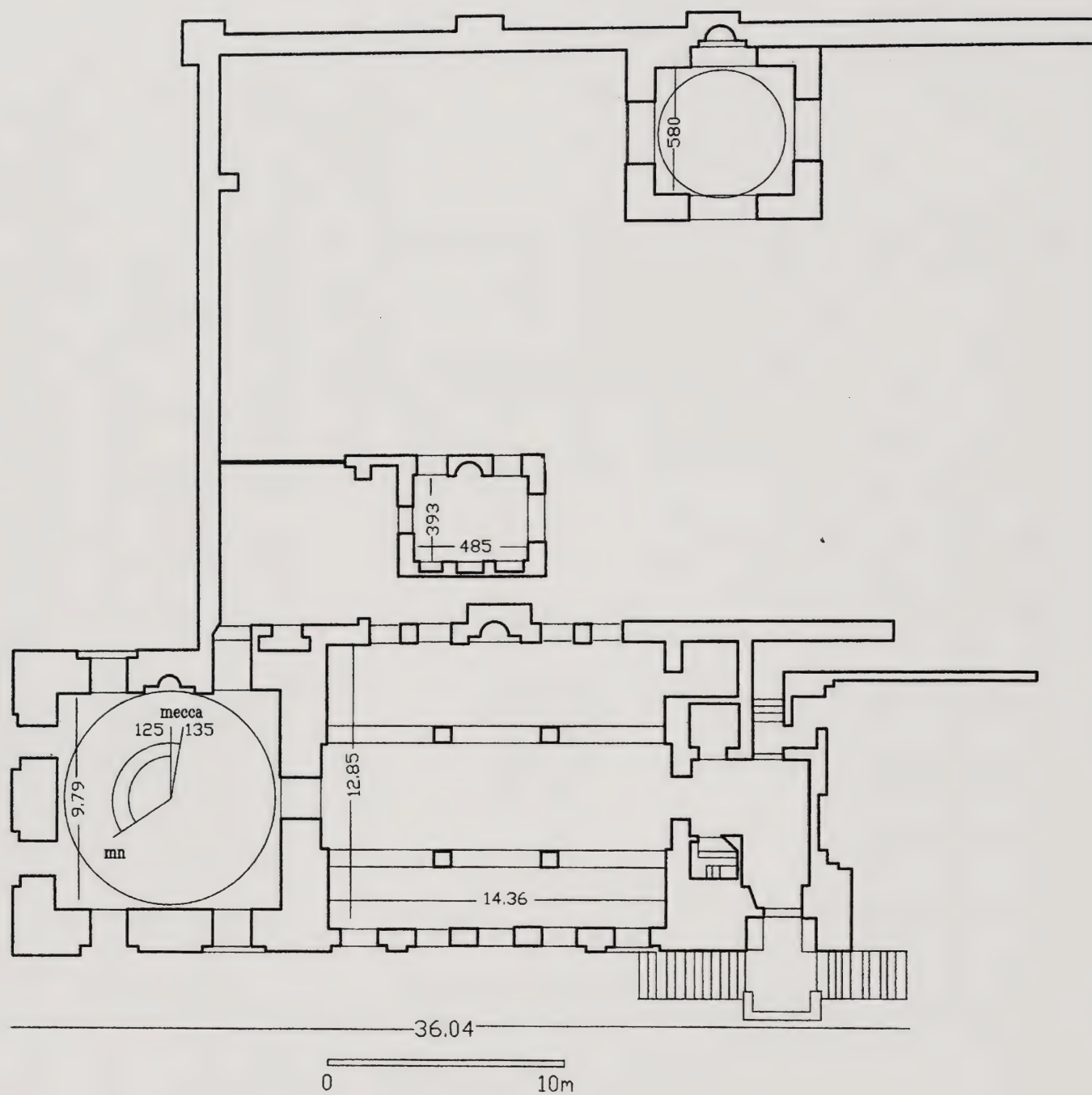


Figure 20. Plan of the madrasa of Barsbay.

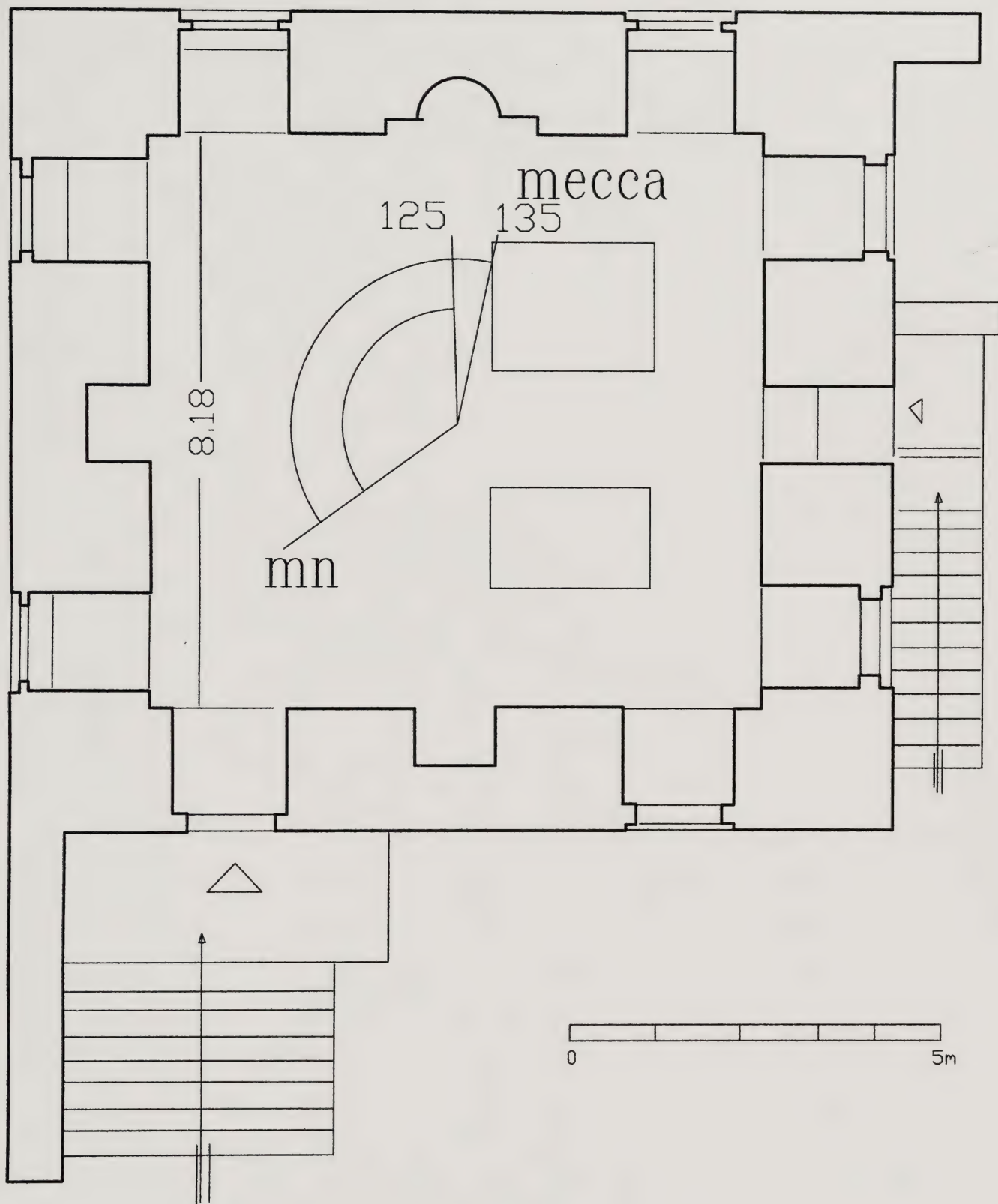


Figure 21. Plan of the madrasa of Inal.

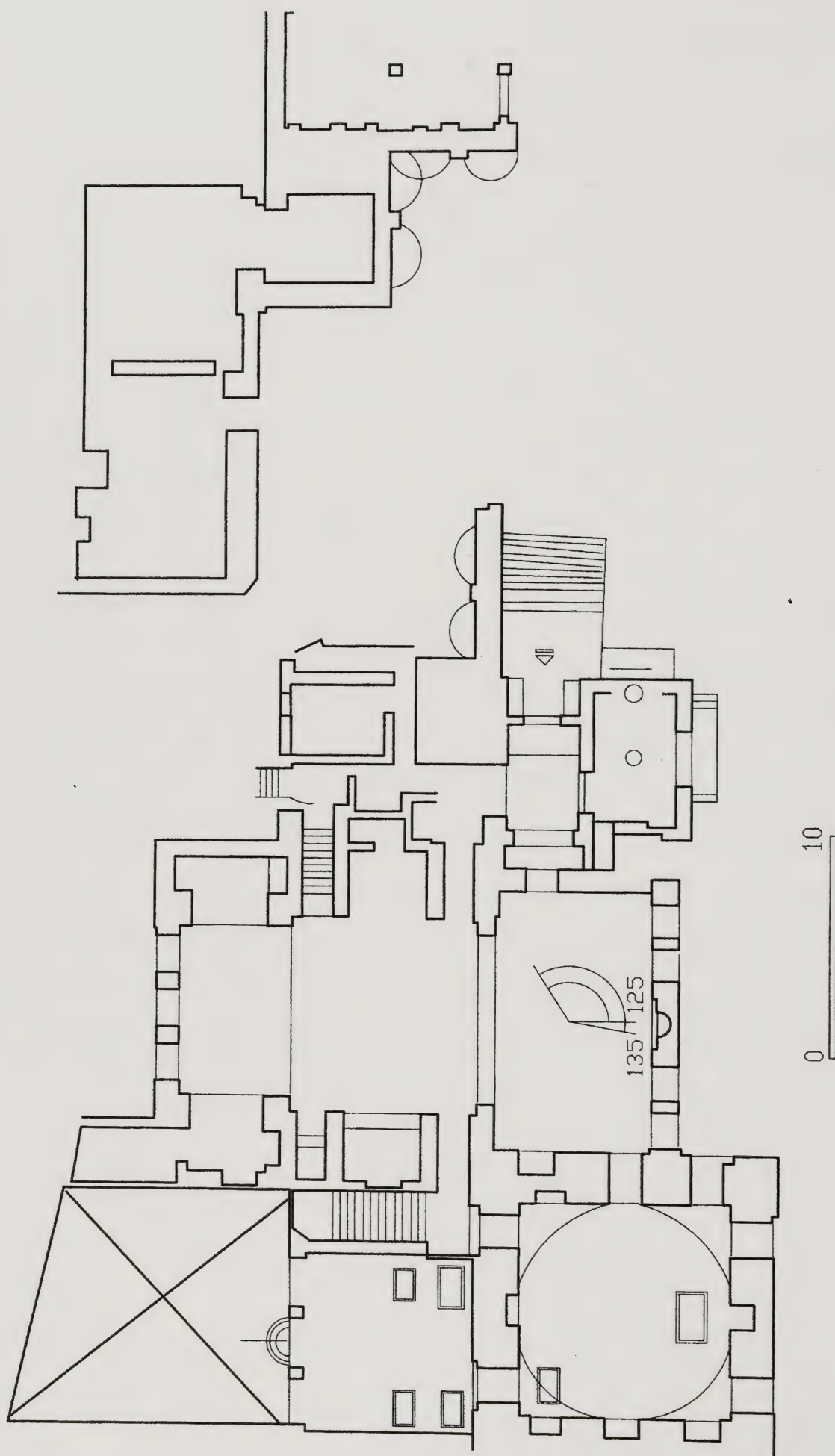


Figure 22. Plan of the mosque of Qaytbay.

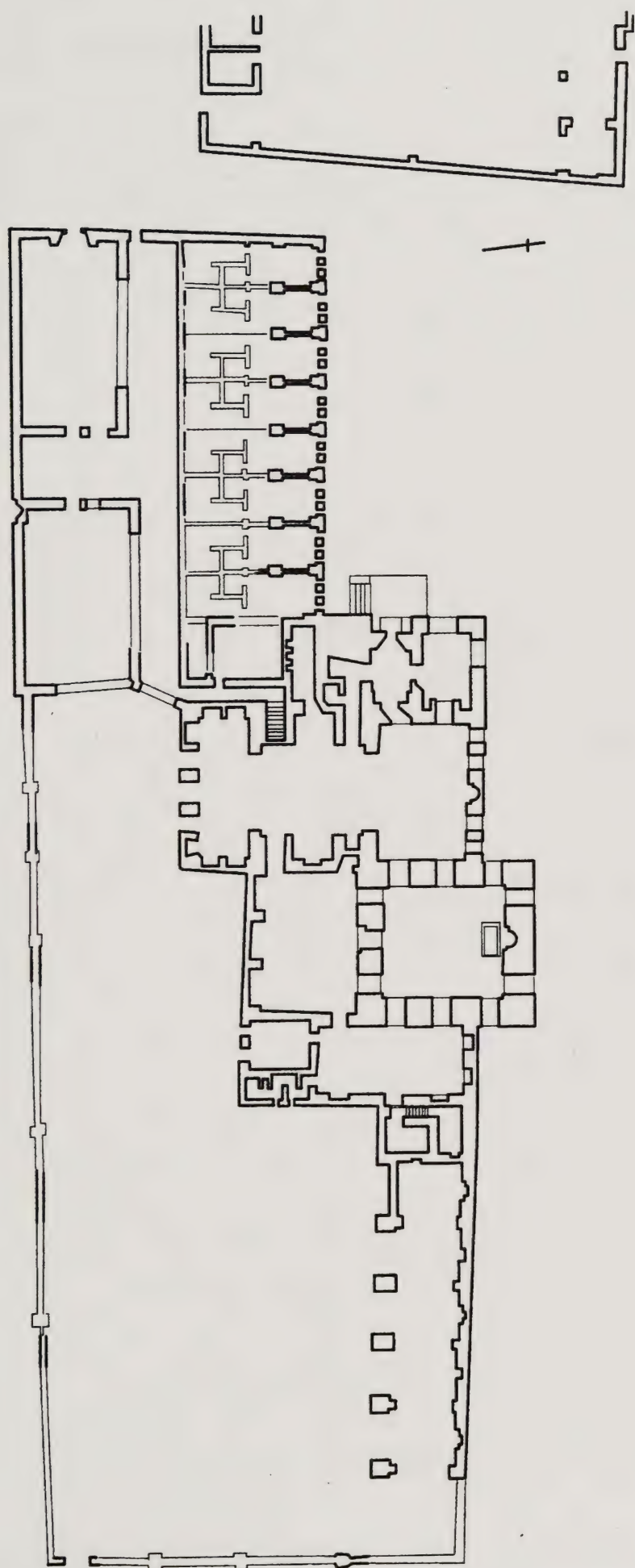


Fig 23. Plan of the *khanqah* of Qurqumas.

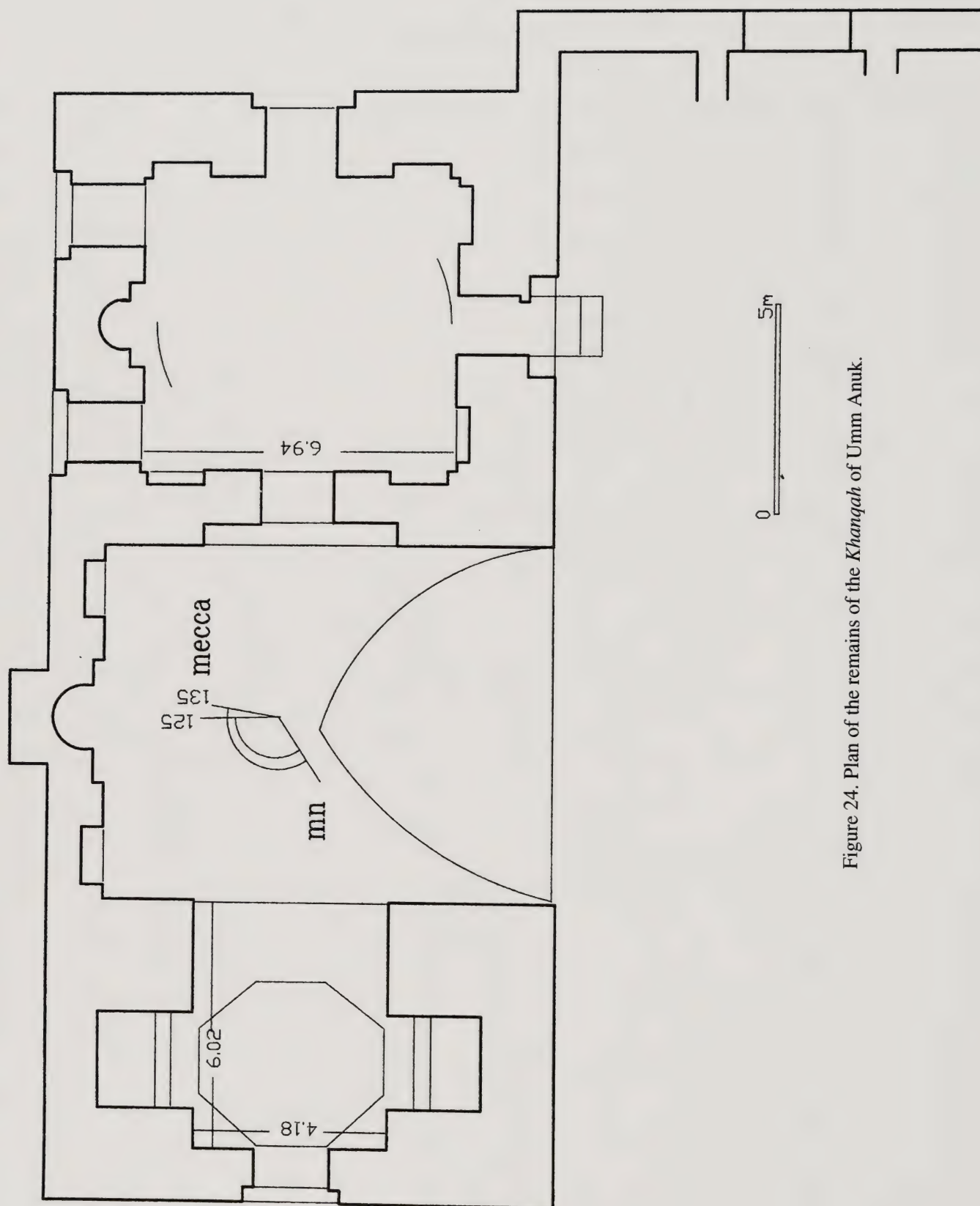


Figure 24. Plan of the remains of the *Khanqah* of Umm Anuk.

EXTANT MONUMENTS

KEY:

PHASE I : BAHRI MAMLUK	658/1260 TO 784/1382
PHASE II : EARLY BURGI	784/1382 TO 825/1422
PHASE III : MIDDLE BURGI	825/1422 TO 873/1468
PHASE IV : LATE BURGI	873/1468 TO 922/1516-17

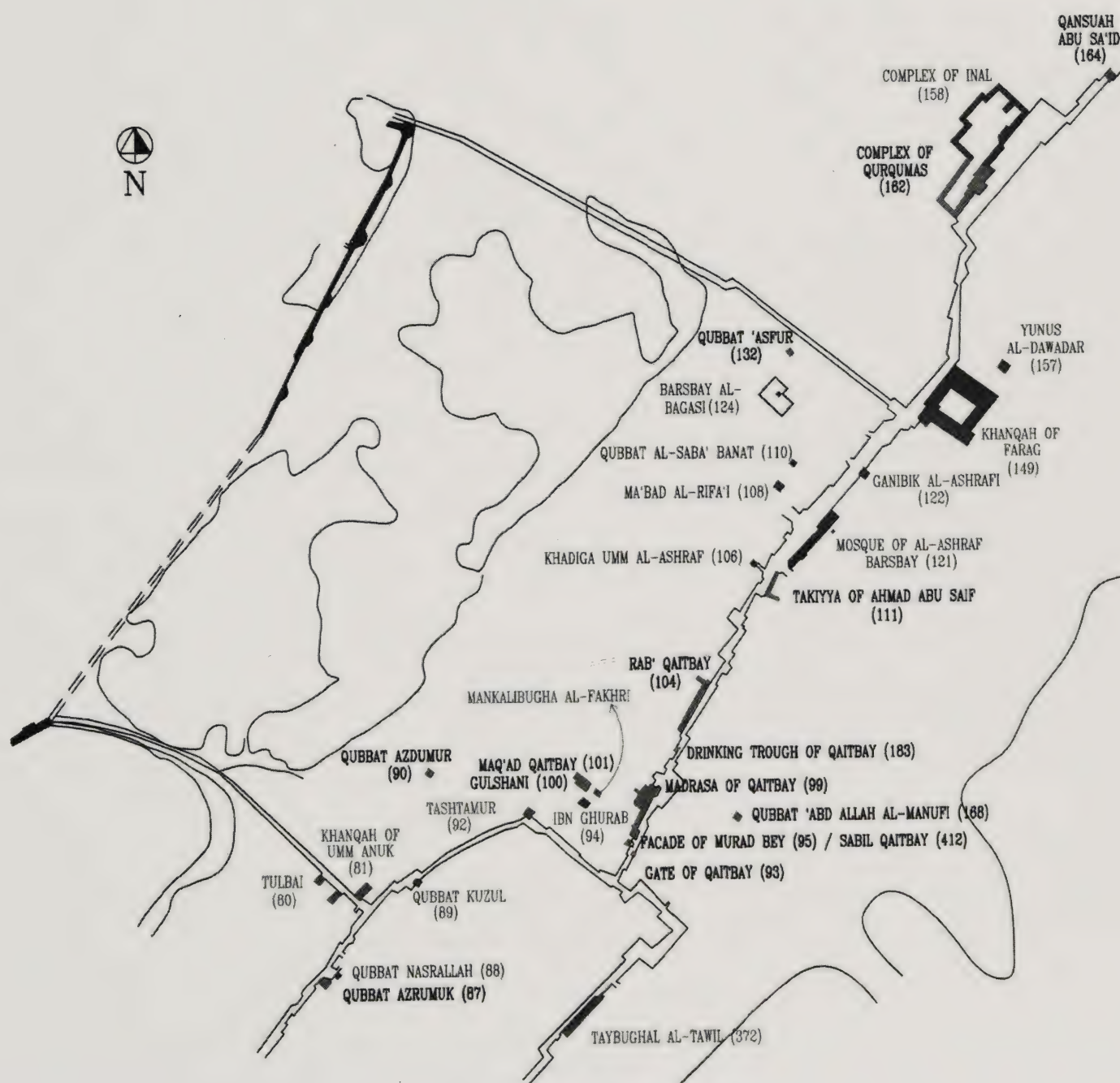


Figure 25. Map of the extant monumnets in the *sahara*'.

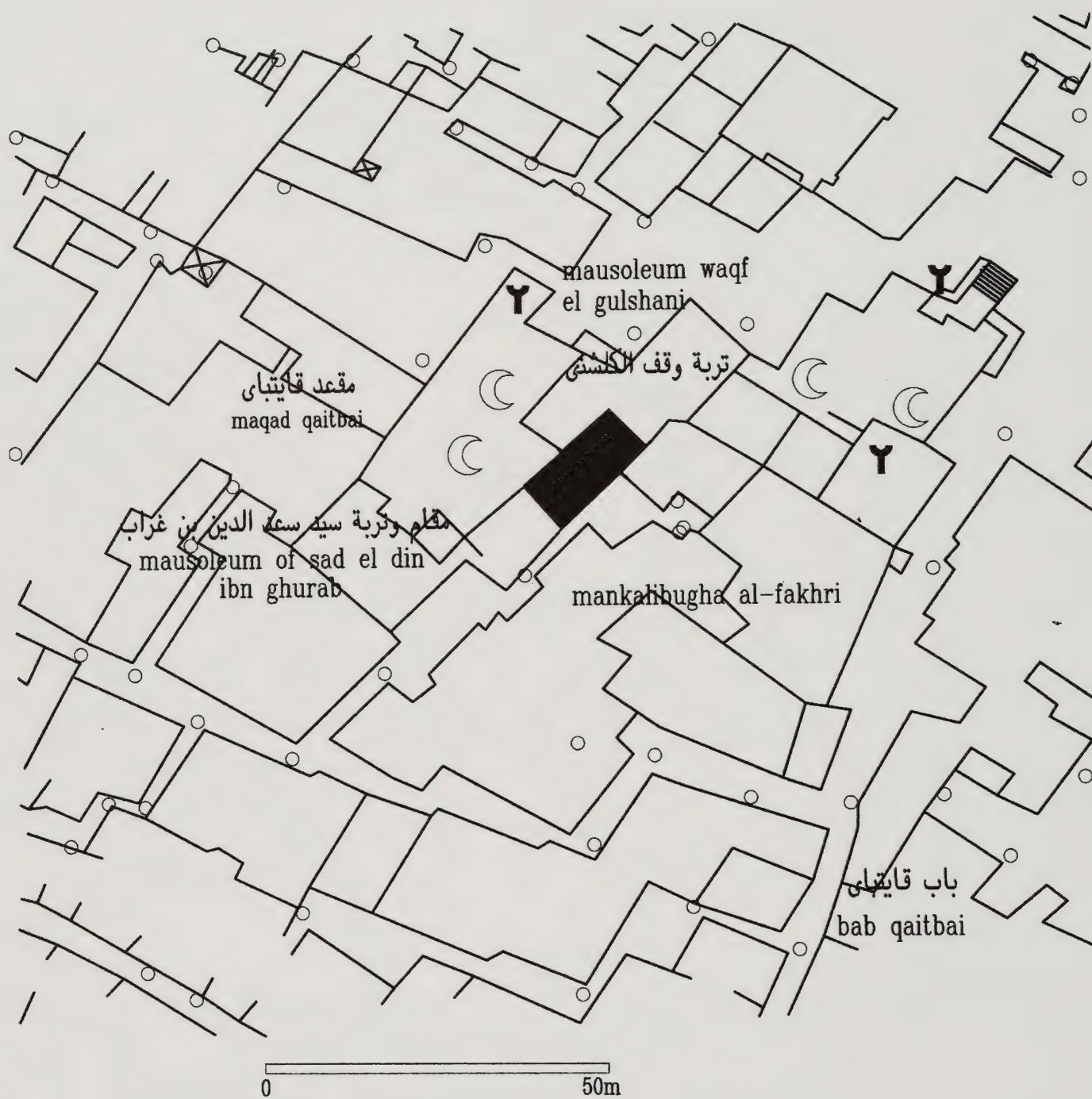


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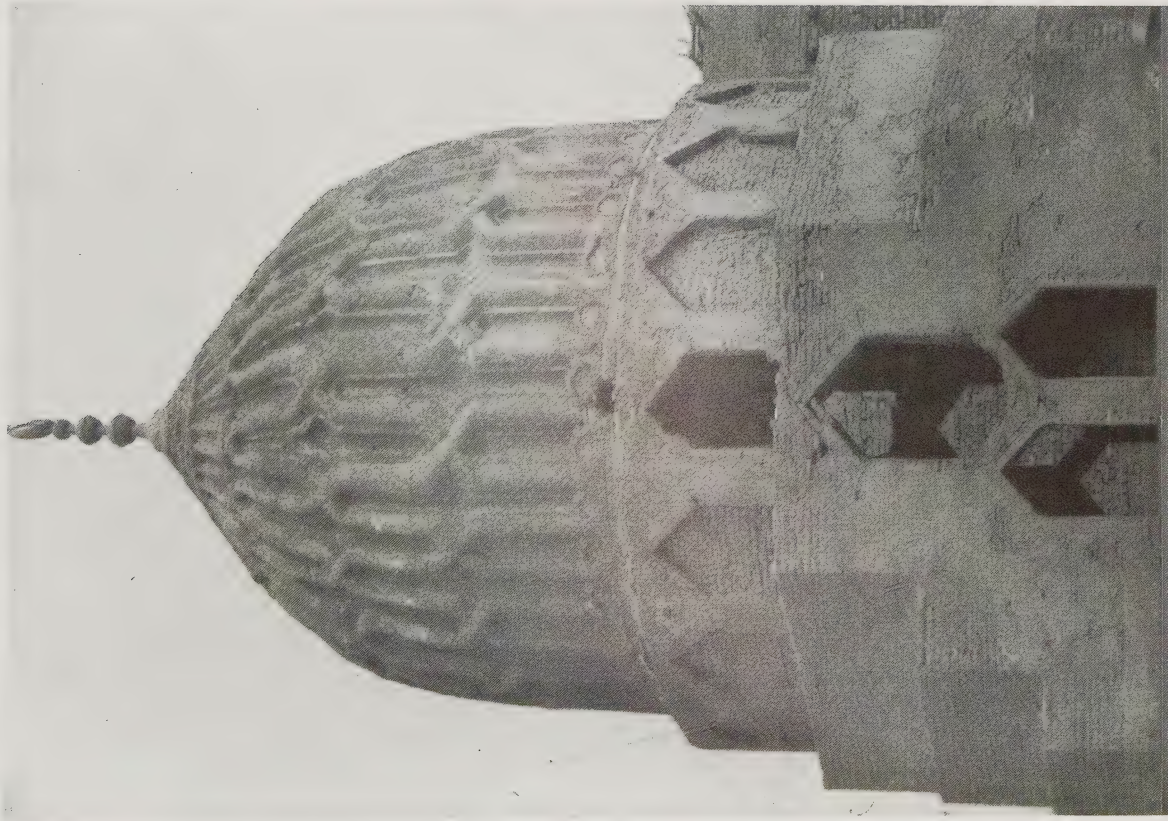


Plate 1. Dome of Khadiga Umm al-Ashraf.

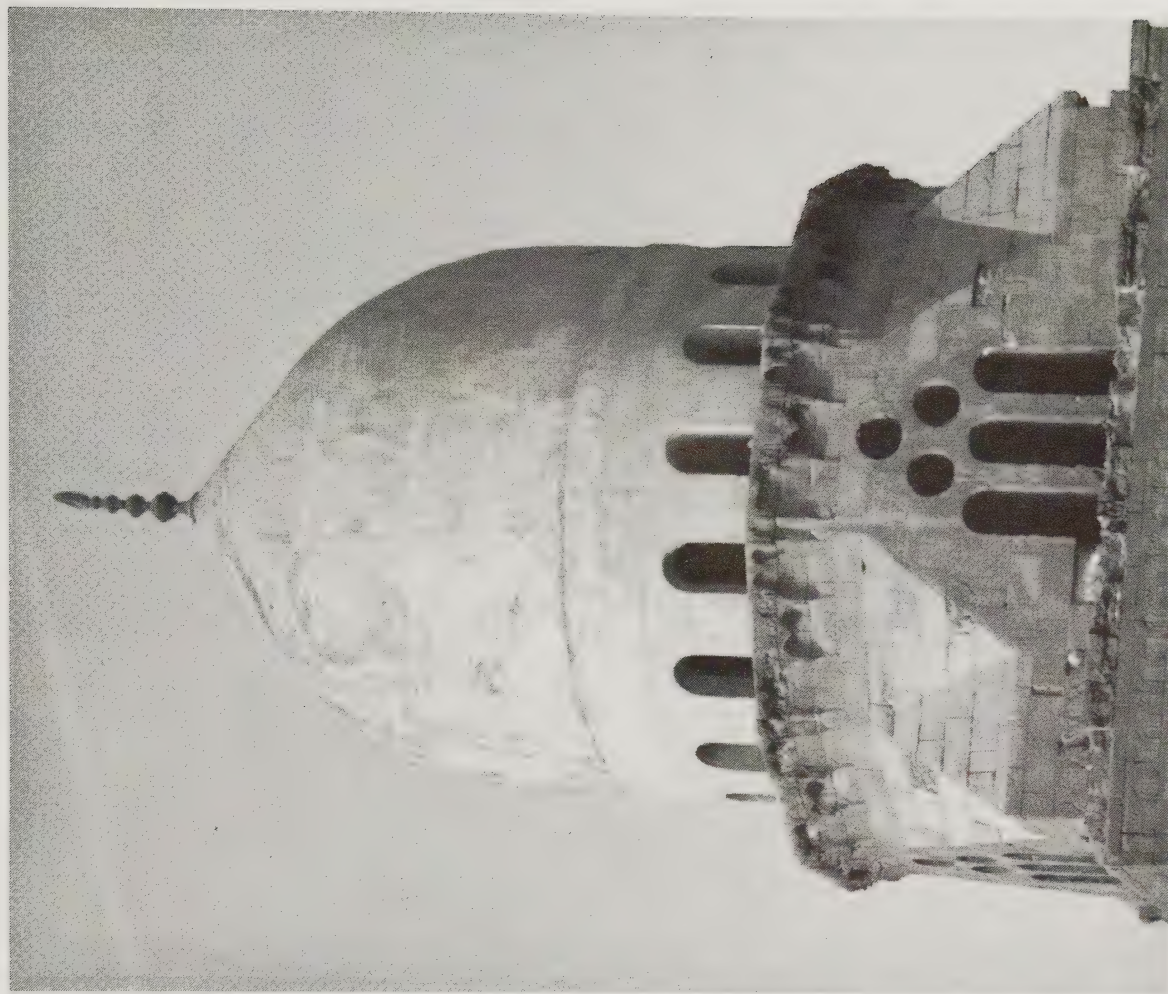


Plate 2. *Qubbat al-Saba' Banat*.

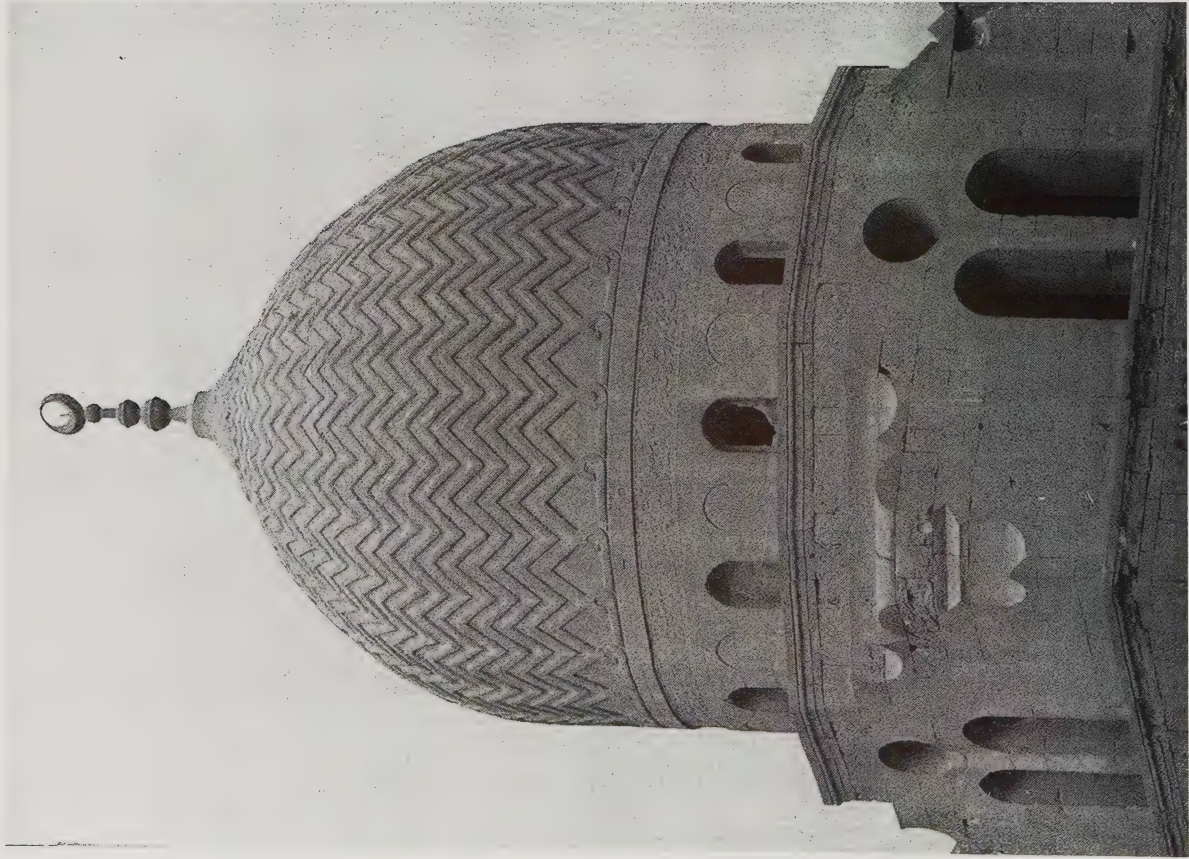


Plate 3. Mausoleum of Barsbay al-Bagasi.

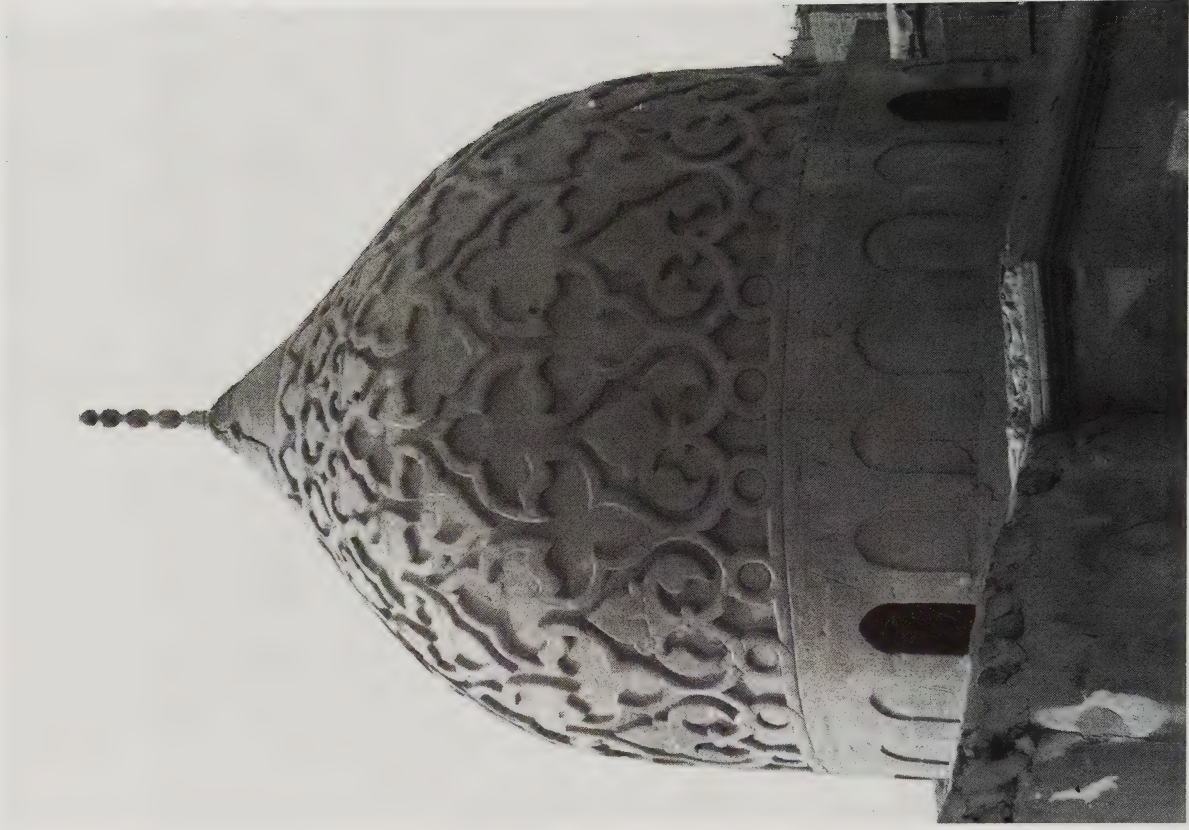


Plate 4. Mausoleum of 'Abd Allah al-Manufi.

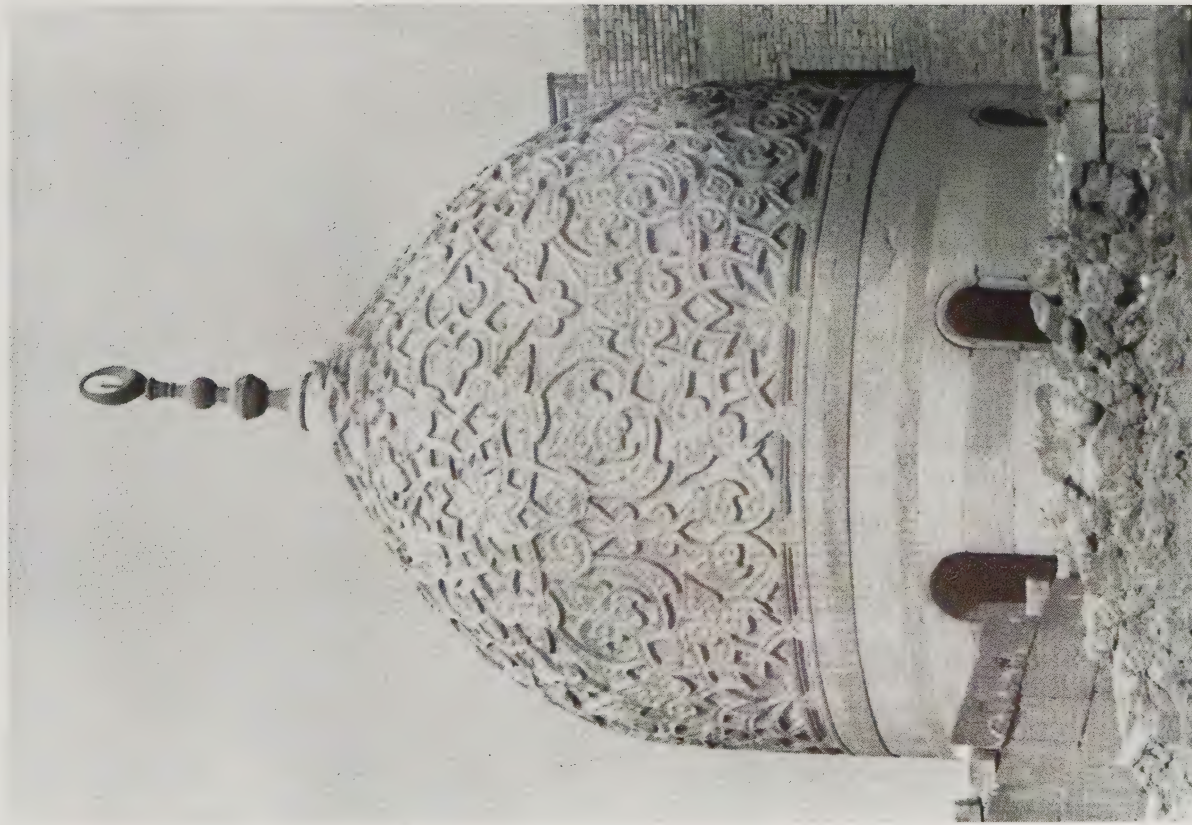


Plate 5. Dome of al-Gulshani.

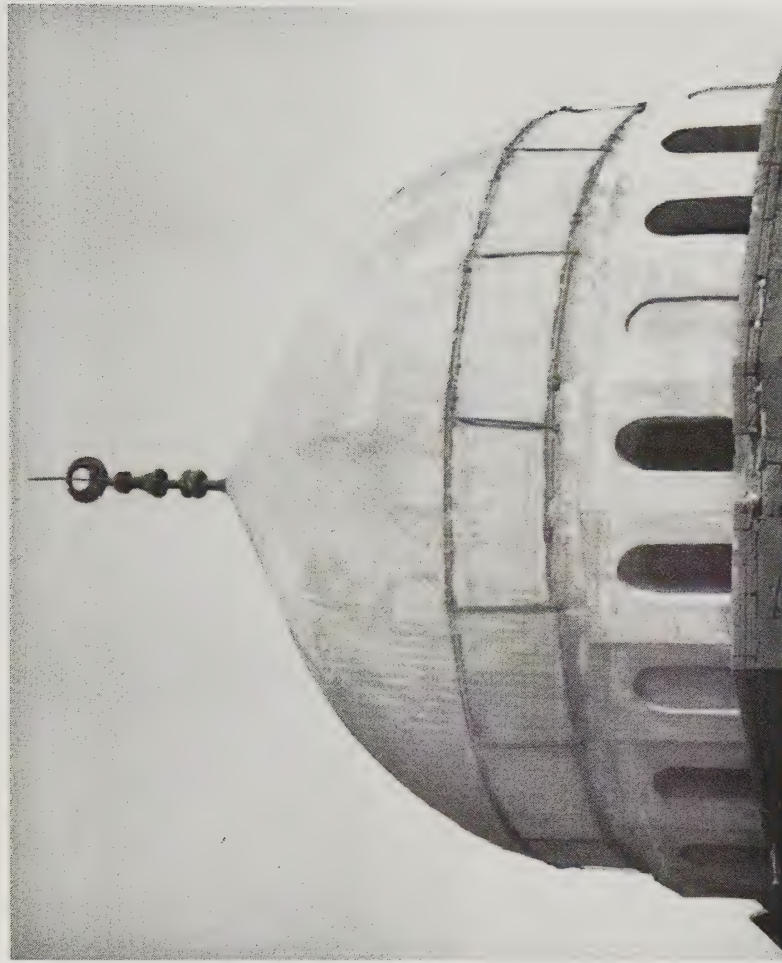


Plate 6. Ma'bad al-Rifa'i.



Plate 7. The Gate of Qaytbay.

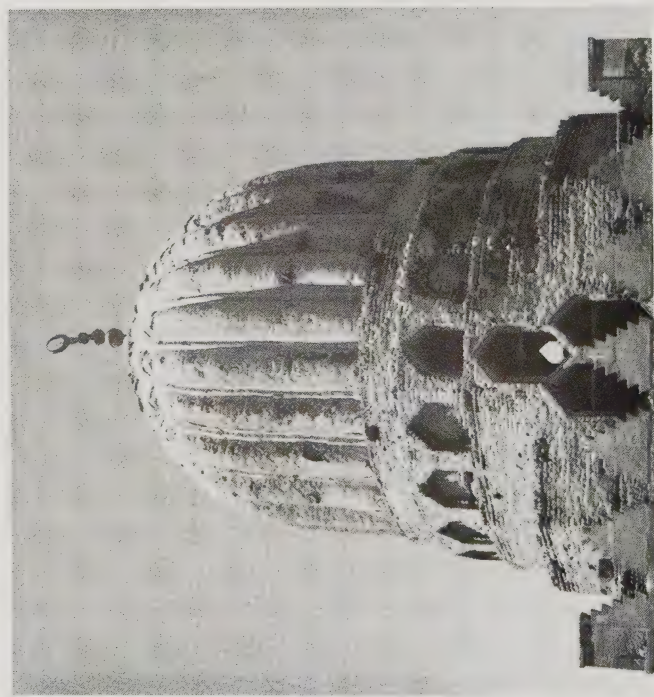


Plate 8. Dome of Tashtamur (Hummus Akhdar).

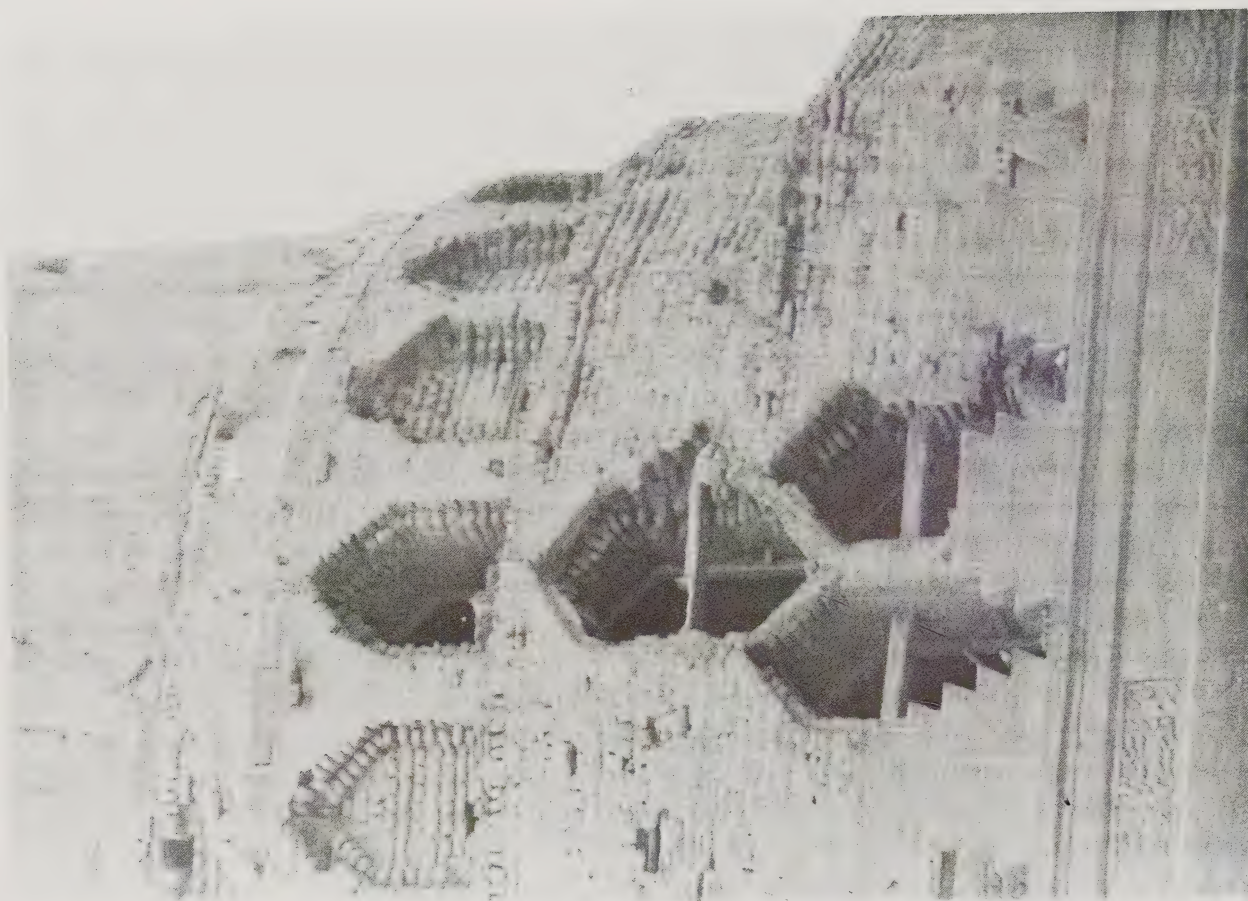


Plate 9. Glazed tiles on the Dome of Tashtamur.



Plate 10. The *saqi* blazon on the mausoleum of Tashtamur (Hummus Akhdar).



Plate 12. Glazed tiles on the dome of Umm Anuk.

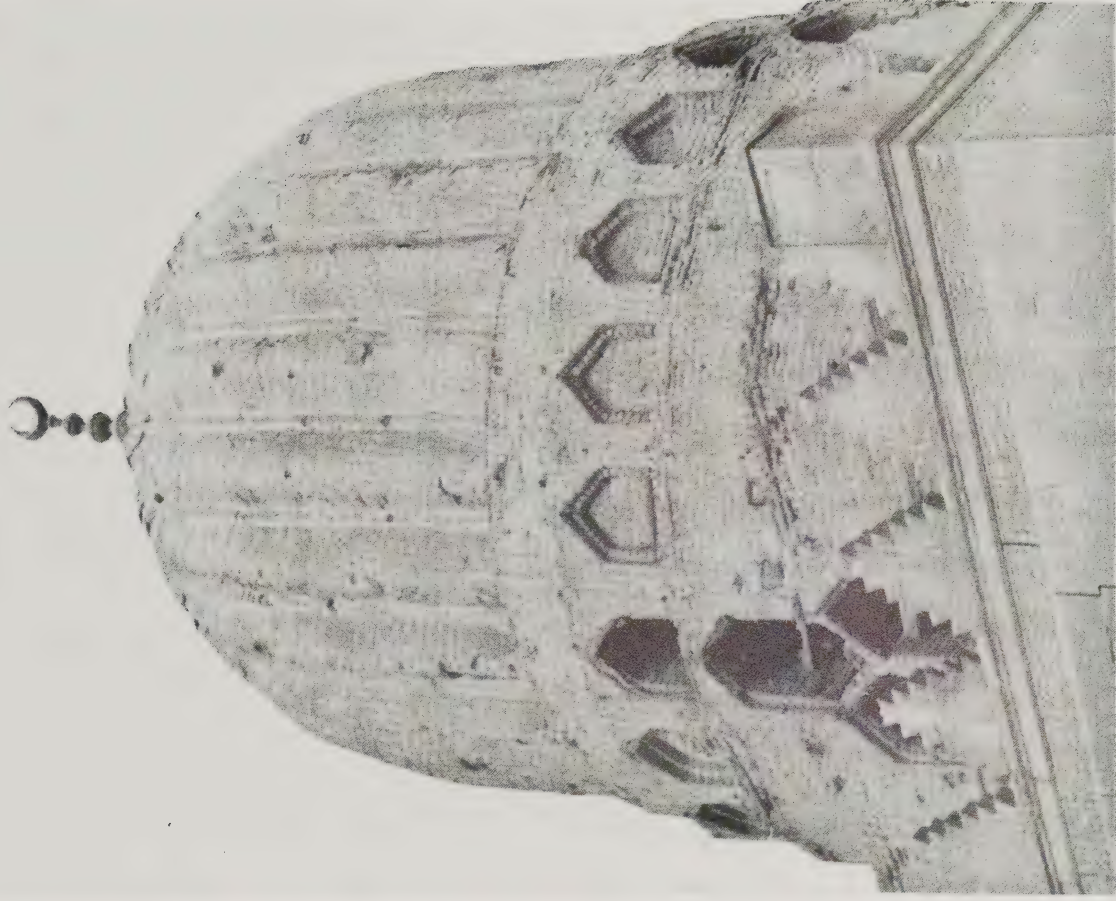


Plate 11. Dome of Tughay (Umm Anuk).

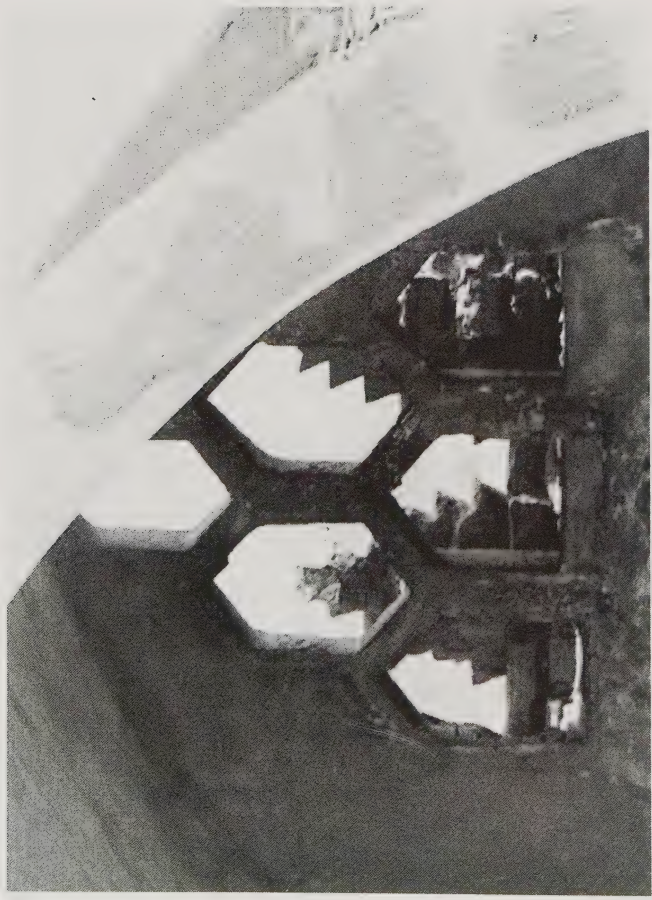


Plate 13. The windows at the *qibla* wall of the *khanqah* of Umm Anuk.

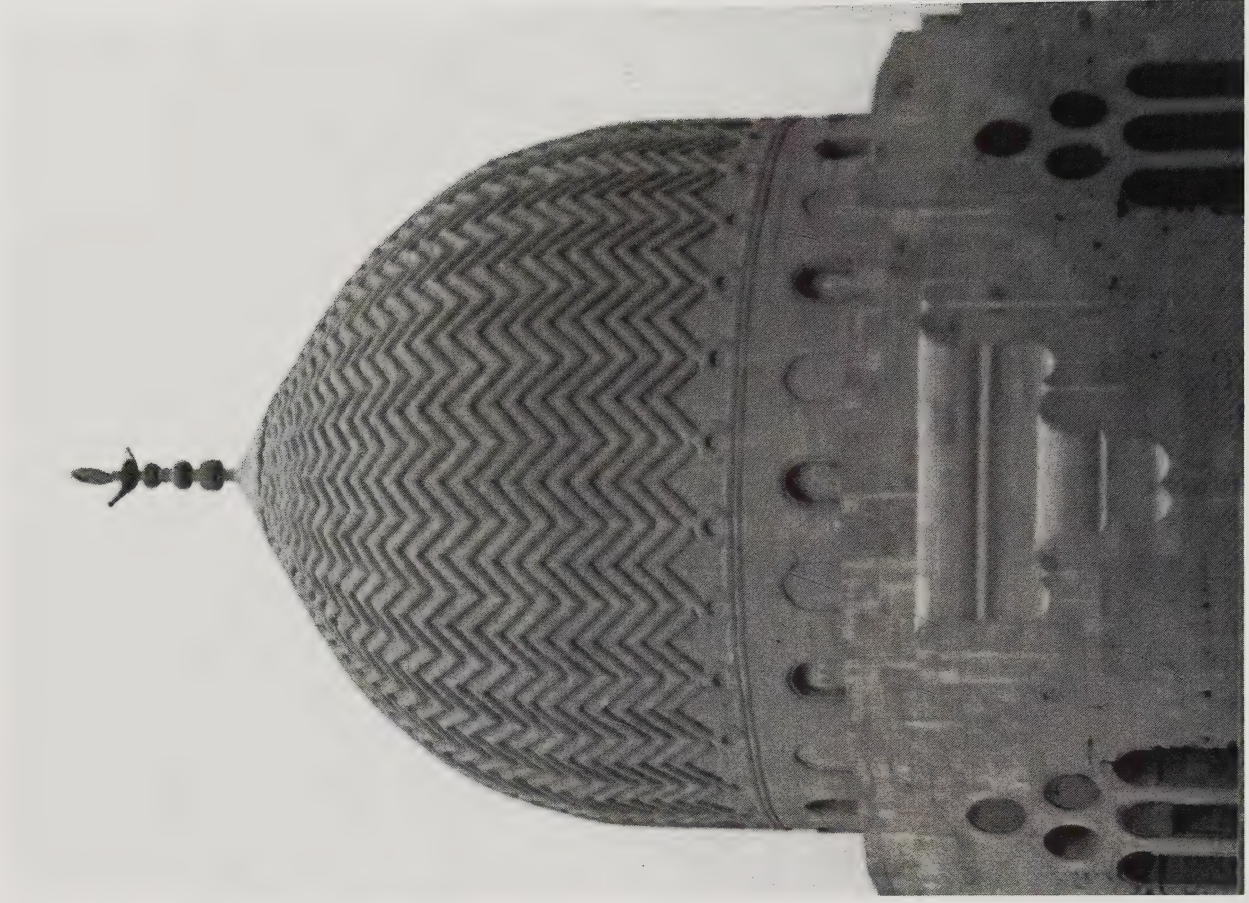


Plate 14. Northern dome of the *Khanqah* of Farag.

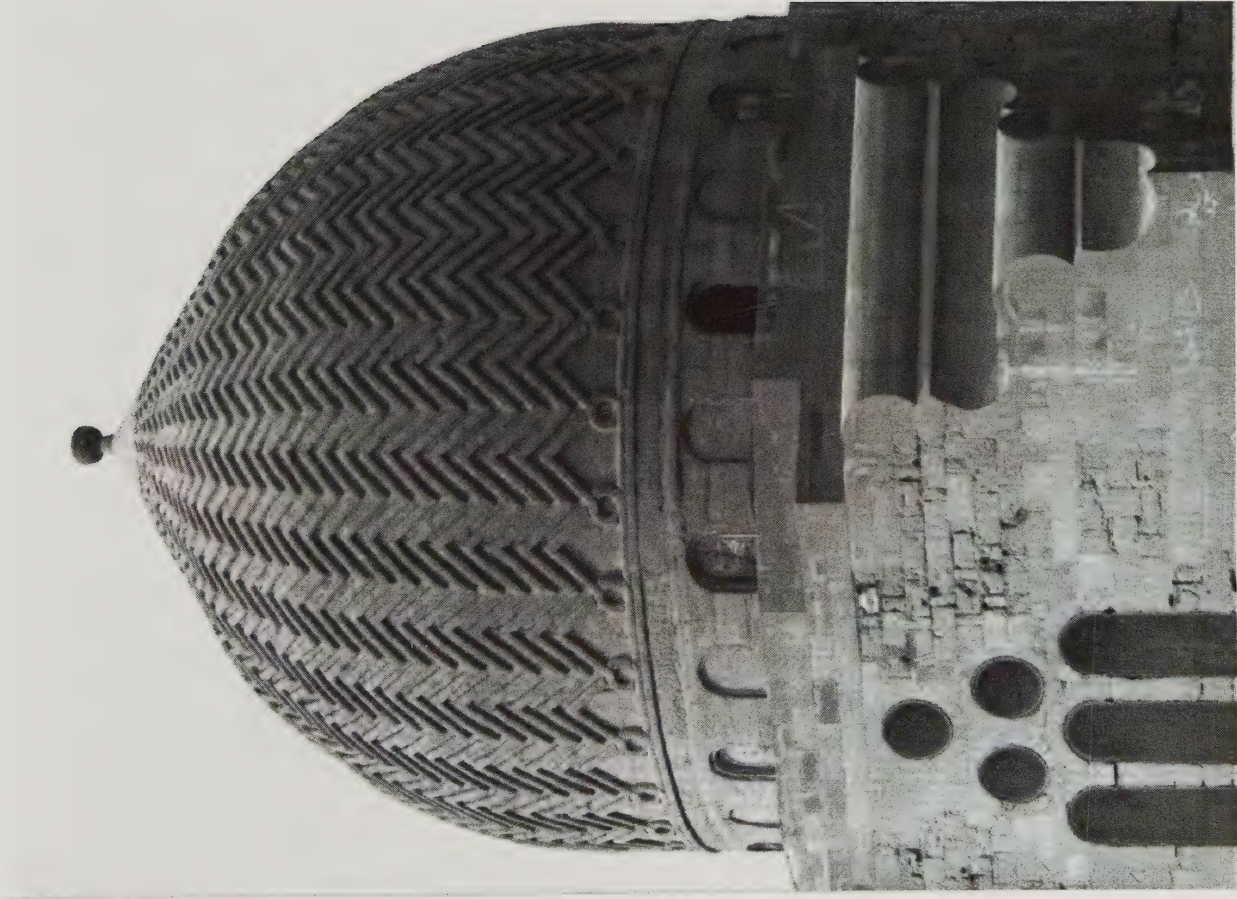


Plate 15. Southern dome of the *Khanqah* of Farag.

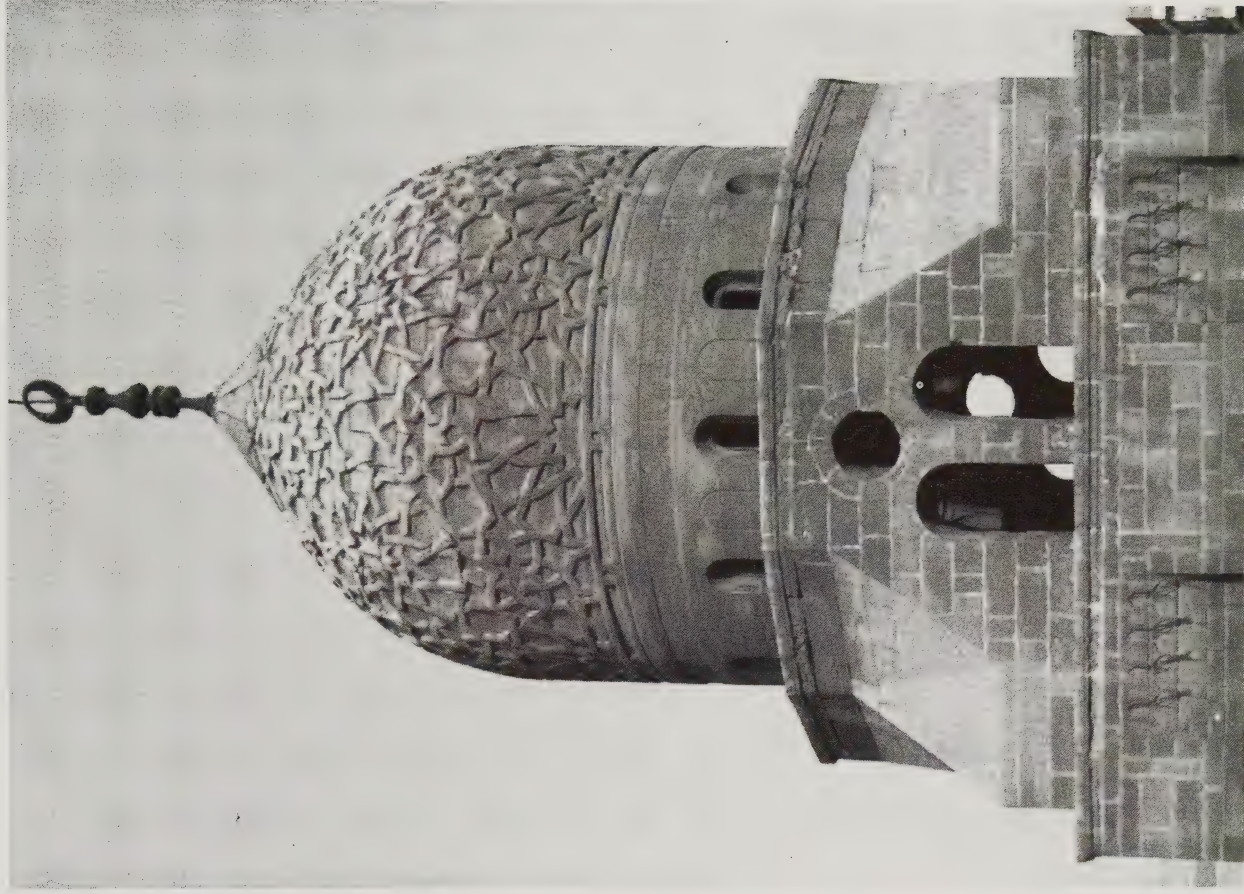


Plate 16. Dome of Ganibak built by Barsbay.

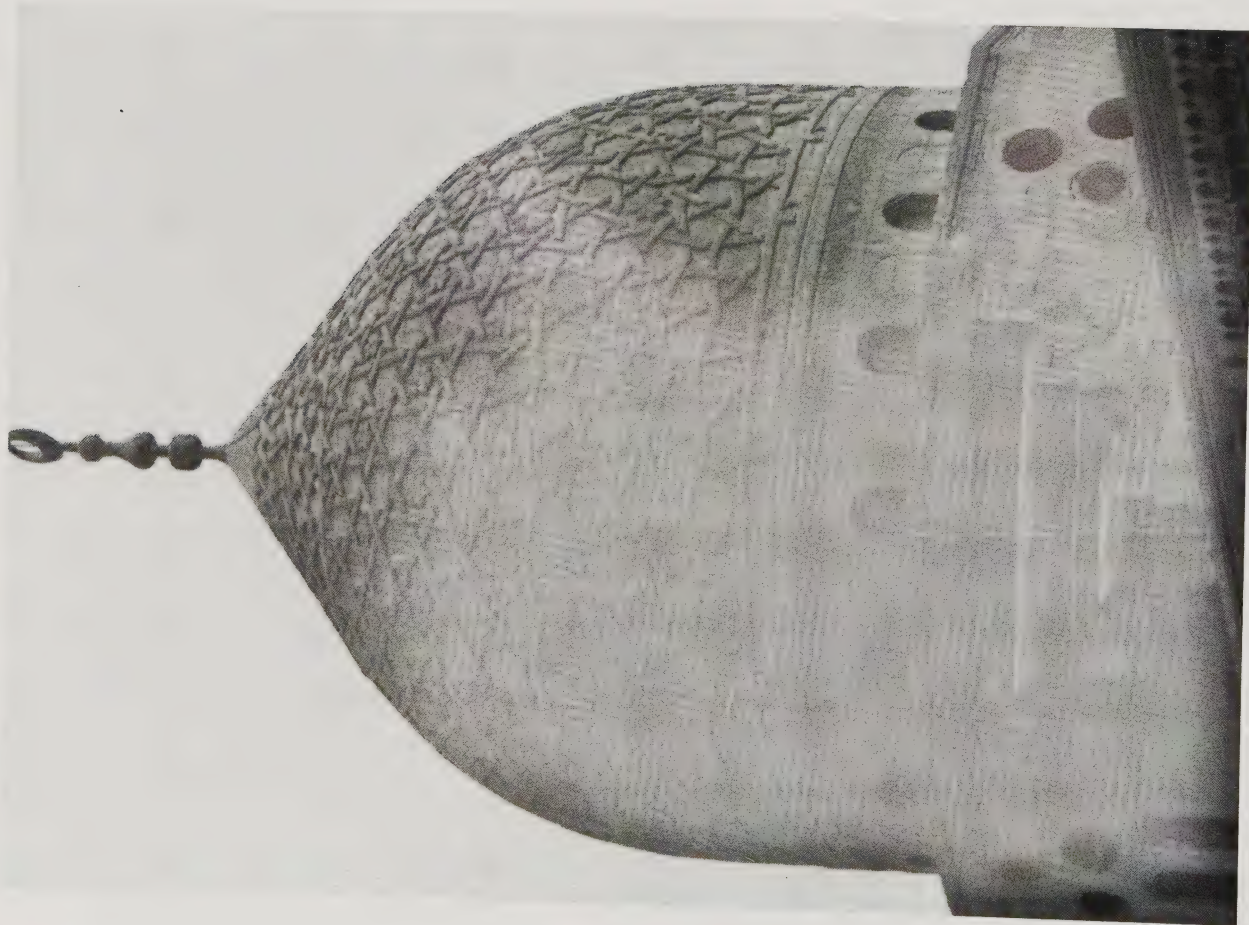


Plate 17. Dome of the mausoleum of Barsbay.

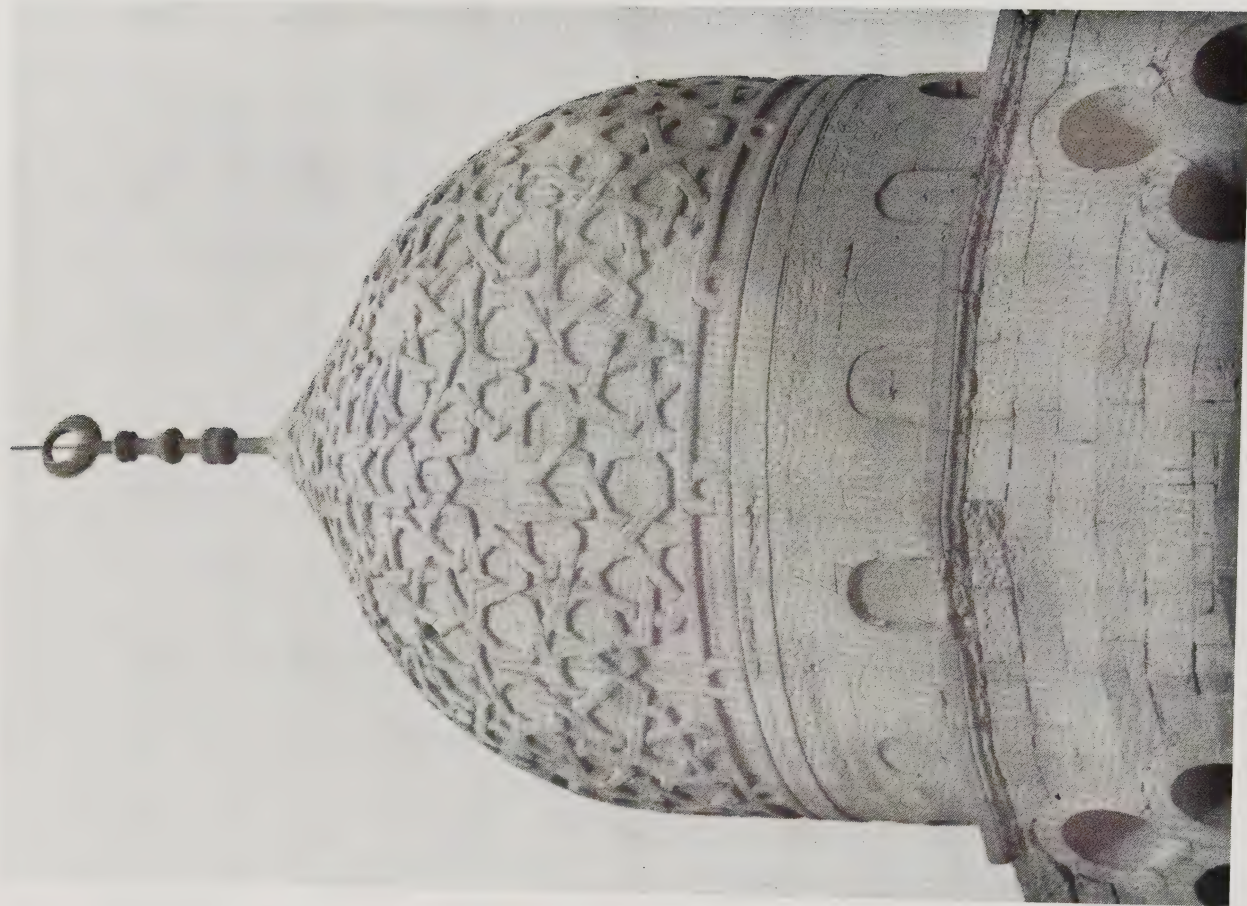


Plate 18. Dome to the east of the mausoleum of Barsbay.

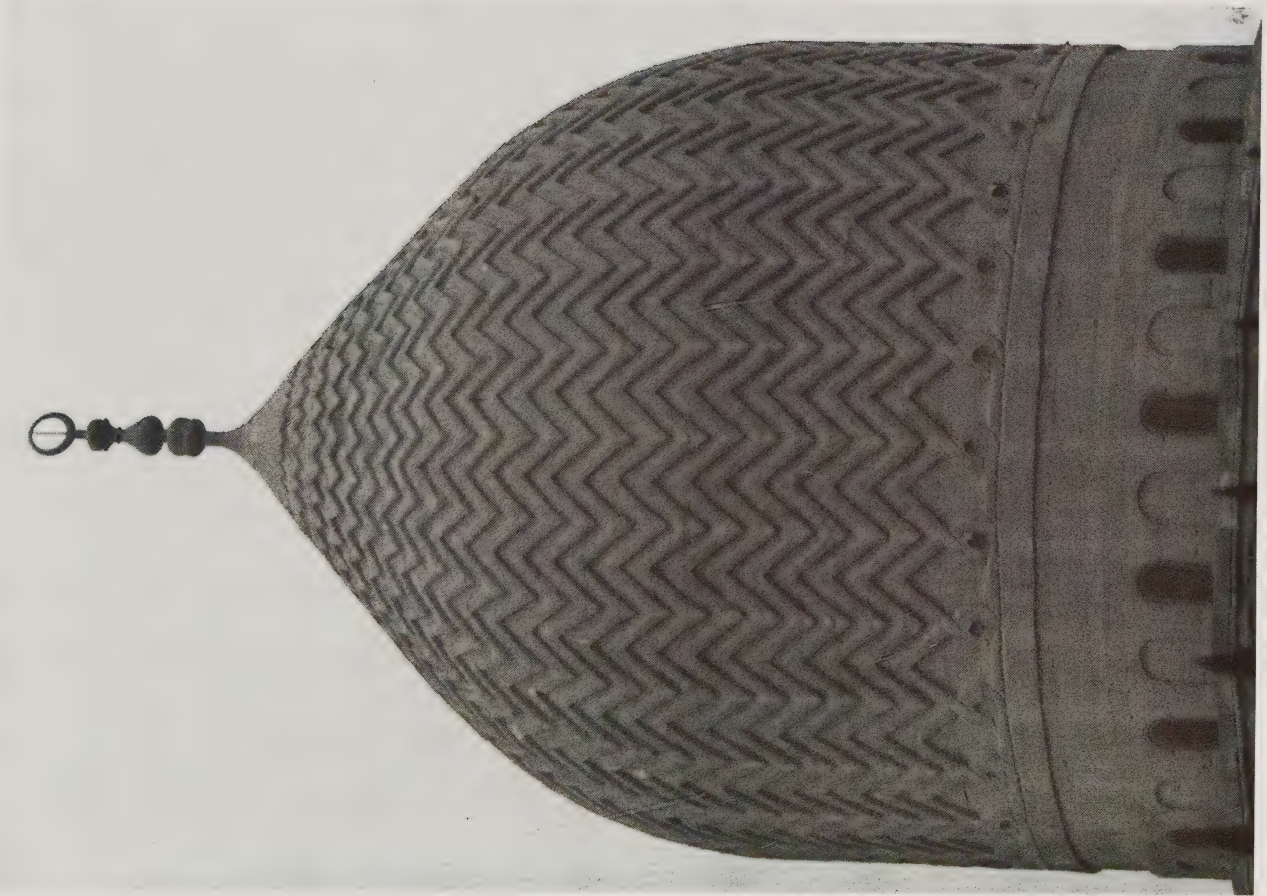


Plate 19. Dome of the mausoleum of Inal.

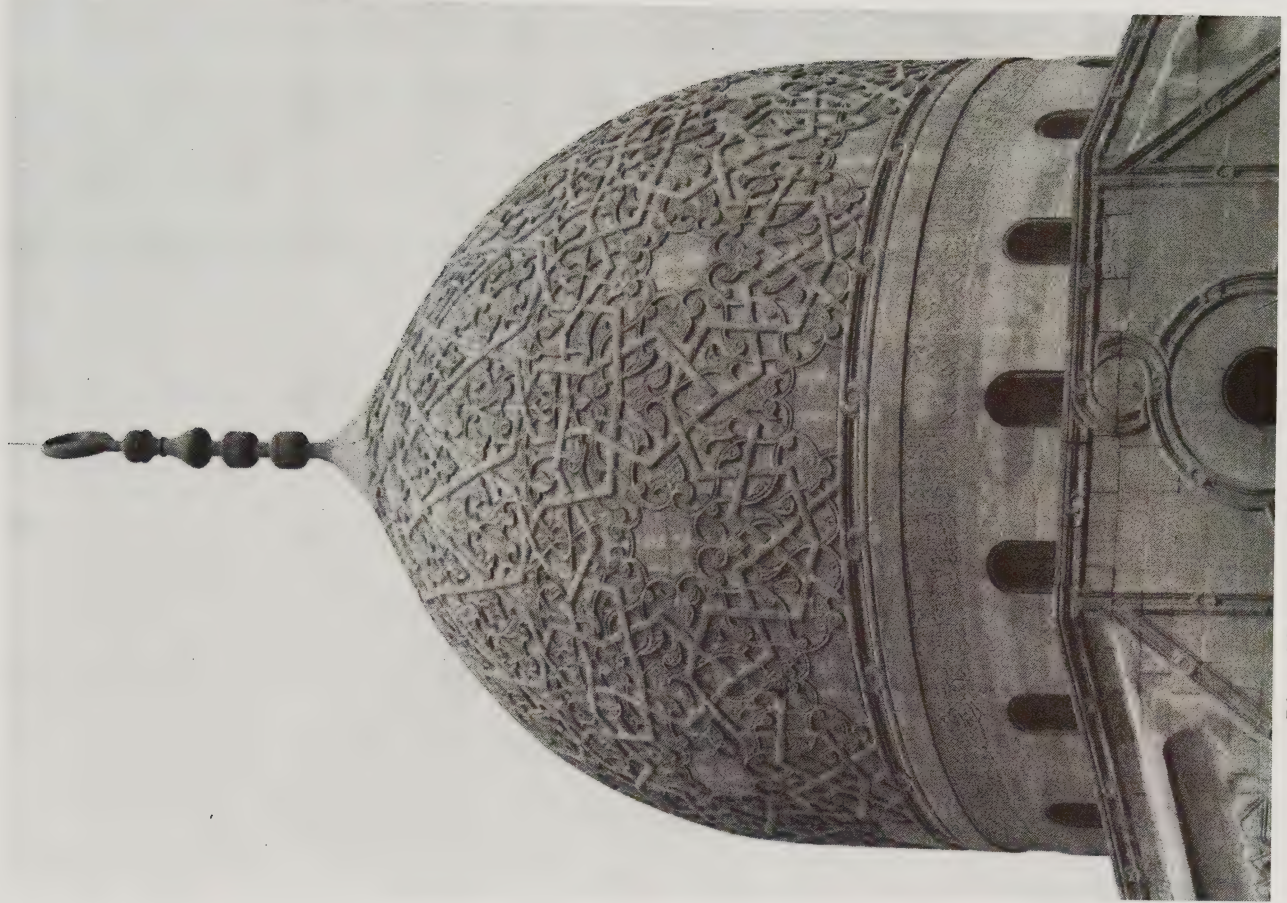


Plate 20. Dome of the mausoleum of Qaytbay.



Plate 21. Dome of the mausoleum of Qansuh Abu Sa'id.

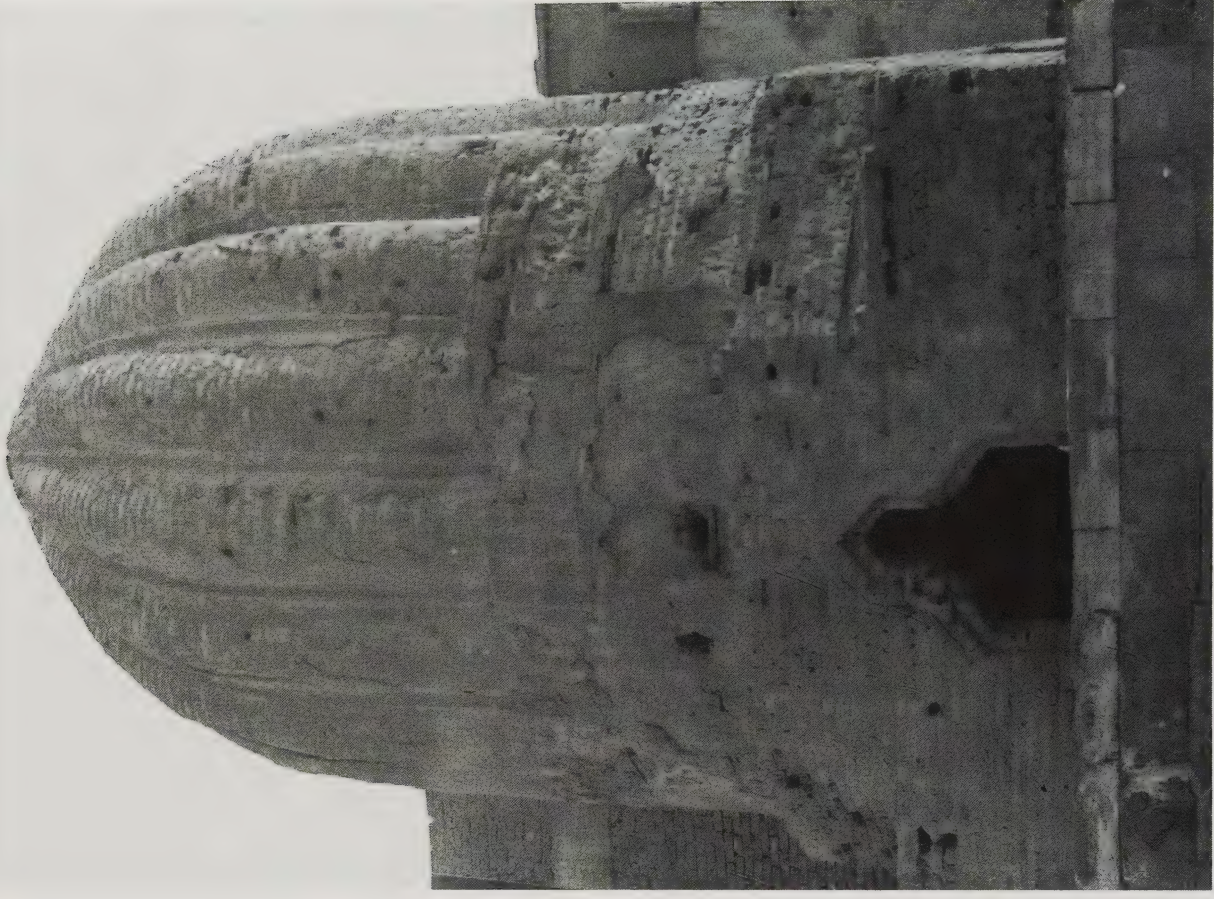


Plate 22. Glazed tiles on the dome of Ibn Ghurab.

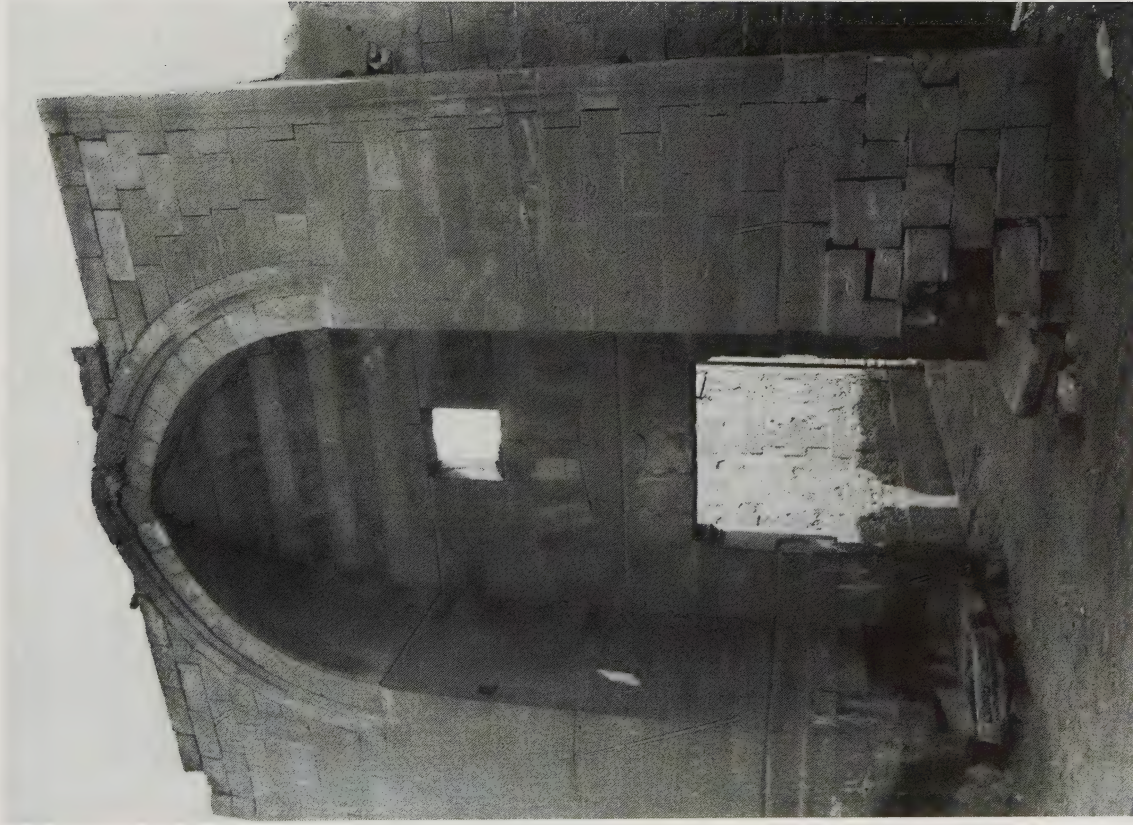


Plate 23. Portal of the mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil.



Plate 24. Western facade of the mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil.

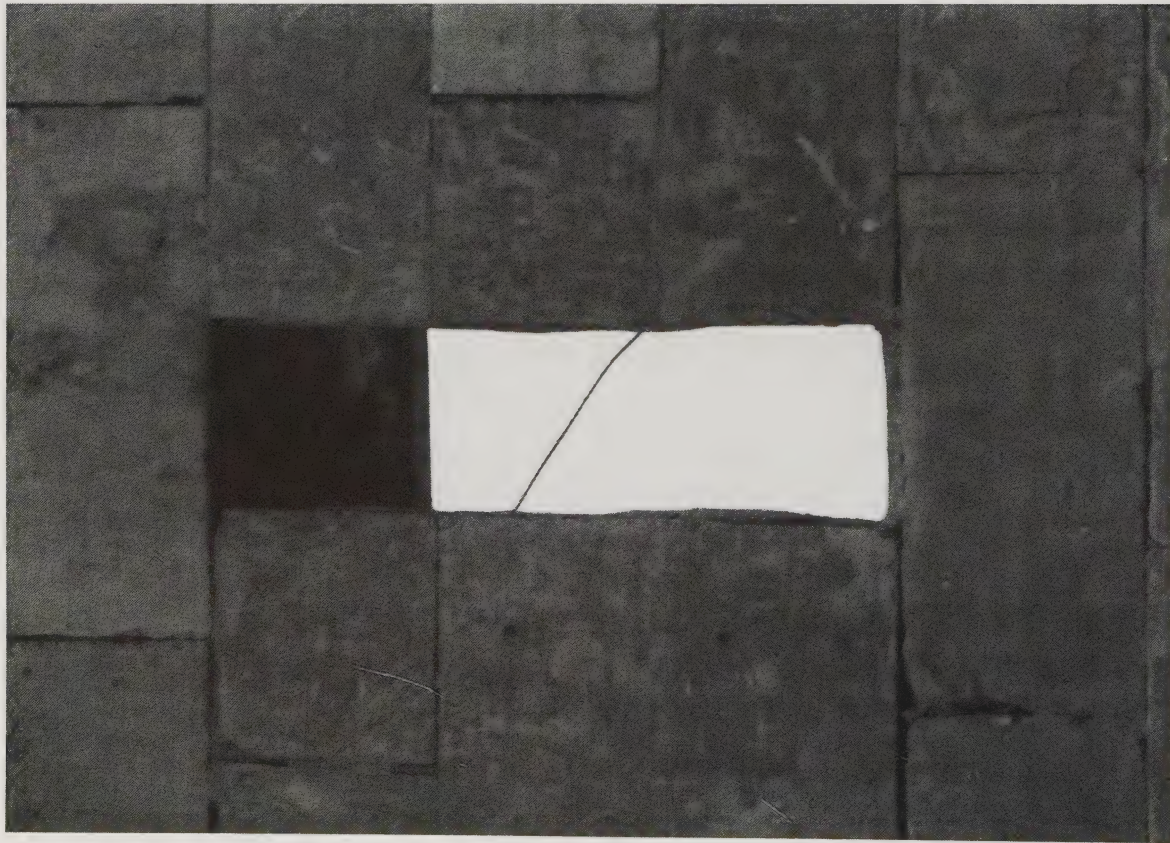


Plate 25. Window in the facade of the mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil.



Plate 26. The well inside the mausoleum of Taybugha al-Tawil.

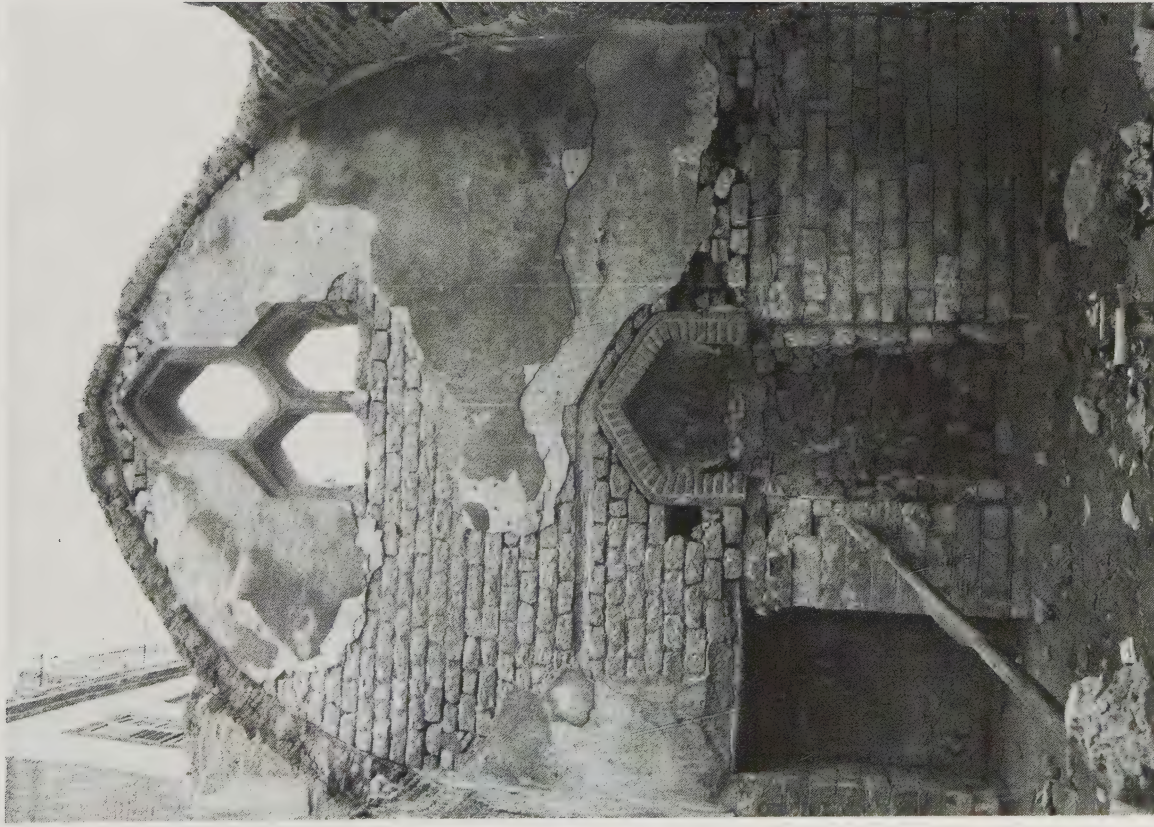


Plate 27. The *qibla* wall of the mausoleum of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri.



Plate 28. The windows piercing the *qibla* wall of the mausoleum of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri.



Plate 29. The marble cenotaph at the mausoleum of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri.

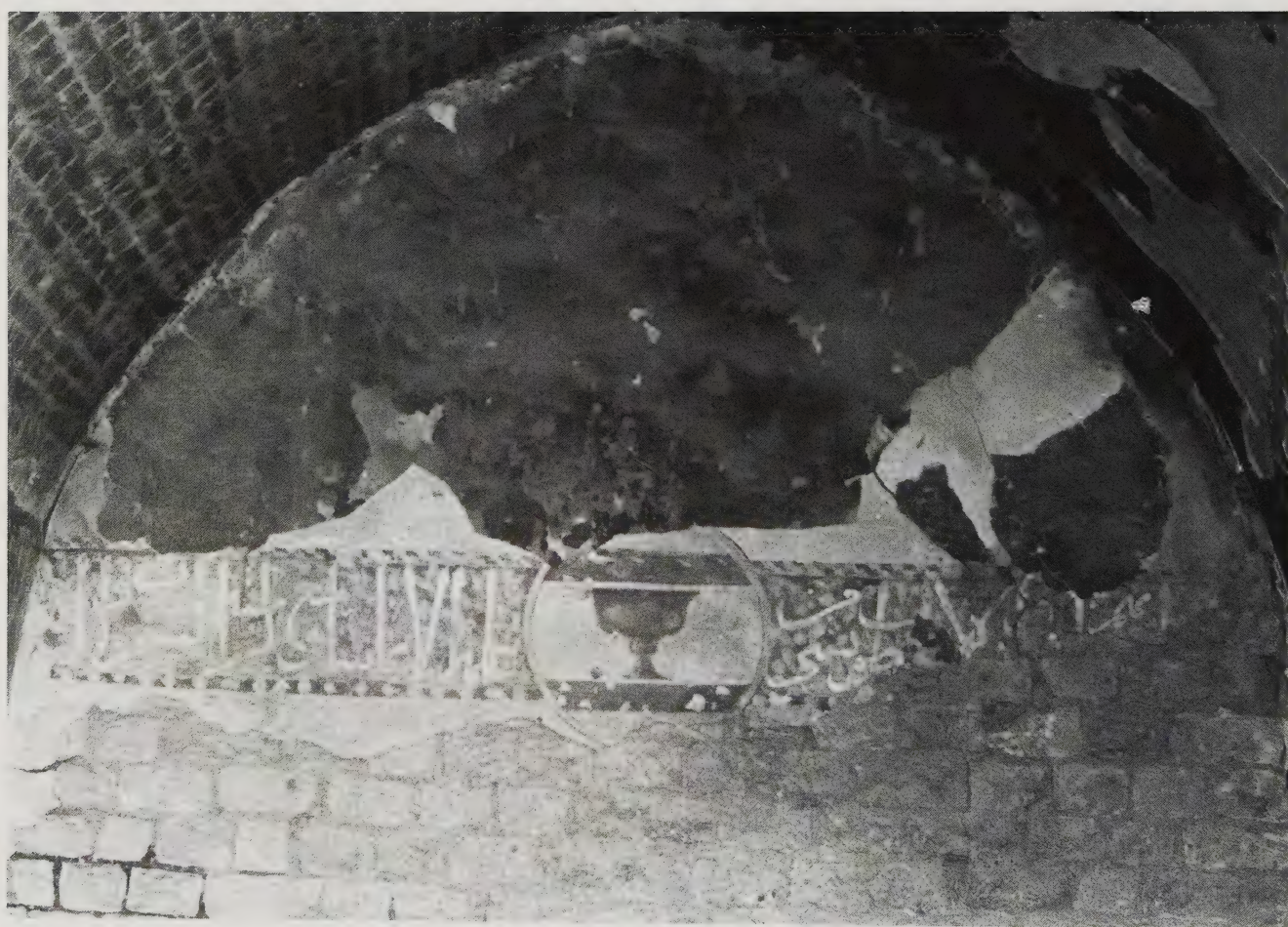


Plate 30. The inscription band on the inner wall of the southern *iwan* of the mausoleum of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri.



Plate 31. The *mihrab* of the mausoleum of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri.

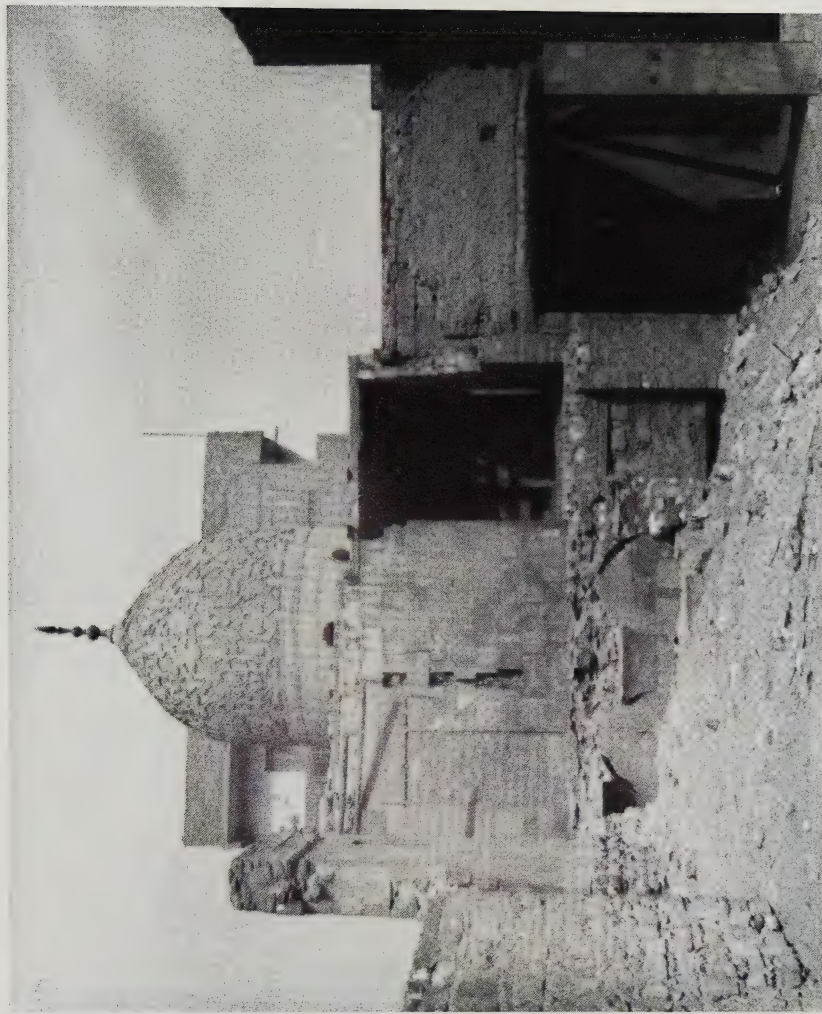


Plate 32. The court in front of the mausoleum of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri.



Plate 33. The court in front of the mausoleum of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri.

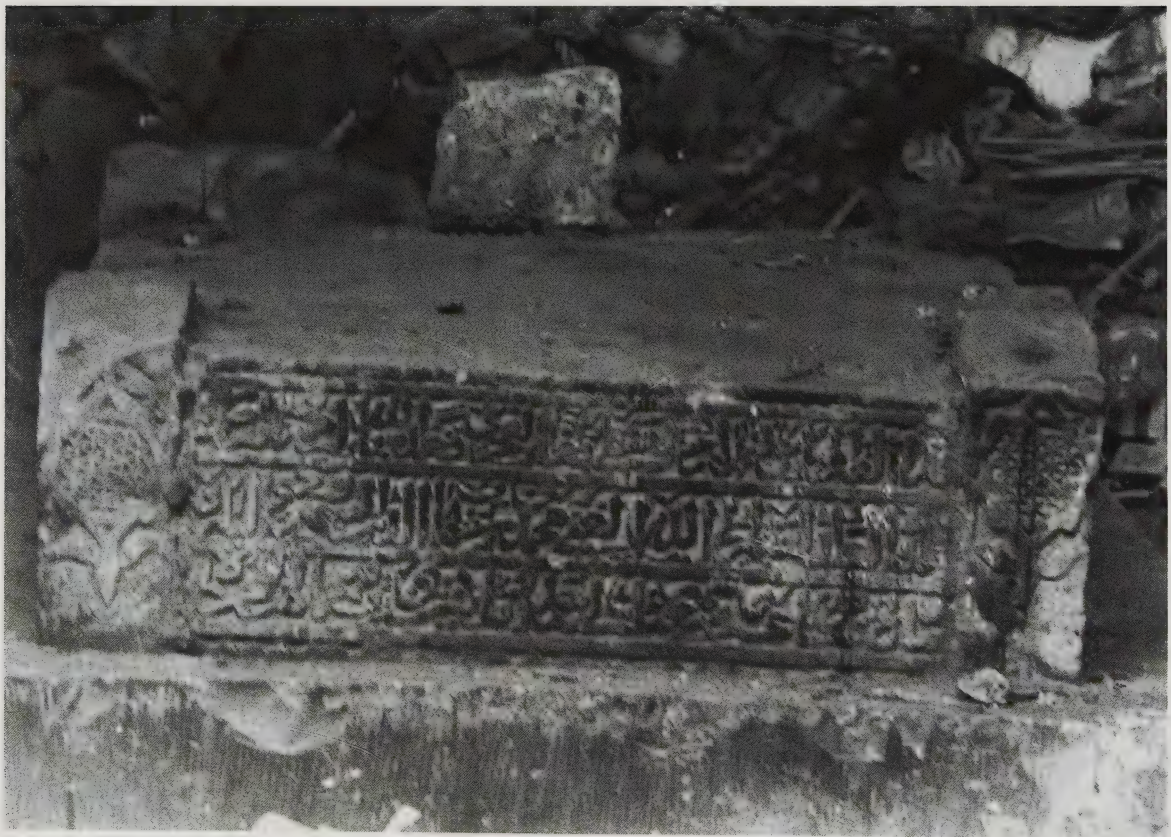


Plate 34. The inscriptions on the cenotaph at the mausoleum of Mankalibugha al-Fakhri.



Plate 35. The windows at the transition zone of the dome of Kazal al-Nasiri (Karkar).

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